Conſiderations

Touching the True way to ſuppreſs

POPERY

IN THIS

KINGDOM:

By making a Diſtinction between Men of *LOYAL* and *DISLOYAL*

PRINCIPLES

In that *COMMUNION.*

On occaſion whereof is inſerted an

Hiſtorical Account

OF THE

REFORMATION

Here in *ENGLAND.*

LONDON:
Printed for *Henry Brome* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, at the Weſt end. 1677.

A PREFACE.

THE Reader will find this Book to be of a mixt nature, and in ſome places of a different ſtile; as being compos'd at diſtant times, and by two ſeveral hands. One part of it is a Propoſition for ſecuring the Civil State againſt the danger of Popery, by making a diſtinction between them of the Roman Communion. The other part, which is inſerted into the former, concerns the chief and original controverſies between ours and the Roman Church.

For that Part which belongs to the Civil State, it was moſt of it printed about a year ſince, as appears by ſeveral Inſtances [a], of which the Reader is deſired to take notice, that there may be no miſtake in the timeing of ſome things.

[a] P. 44. theſe ten years. P. 50. March was twelve month. P. 66 *M. Luzanci's* caſe.

The Model of this Part was drawn up by a worthy Gentleman, who thought it a deſign, not only agreeable to his known Moderation, but really Practicable; and likely to be exceedingly beneficial toward the ſafety of this Kingdom at home, and the honour of it abroad; to which nothing would more conduce, and yet nothing is more wanting, than ſome kind of general unity of the Engliſh Nation within it ſelf.

But what is here ſaid on this Argument, the Reader is intreated to interpret with the ſame candor with which it was intended. For the things propoſed being only ſpoken Problematically, it cannot be expected they ſhould be deliver'd with great exactneſs; and it is but reaſon that every little expreſſion ſhould not be called to a ſevere Account, in a Treatiſe, where the whole deſign it ſelf is not impoſed, but only offer'd to be fairly conſider'd.

If any one think that even this is a boldneſs, which private men ſhould not allow themſelves, in matters which belong to the Government, the Author could wiſh all men were of that mind, though it put him to the coſt of an Apology for himſelf

himſelf in this particular. But he is not ſo ignorant of the Age we live in, as not to know that this Liberty is commonly taken; and that none is cenſured for it, that does not much exceed the bounds of Modeſty. And if others can extend this Liberty ſo far, as to write Books that tend directly to diſturb the publick ſettlement; he does not ſee what need he can have for an excuſe for writing that which can have no other end but to promote it. To ſpeak plain, he has ſeen divers pieces of late, whereof ſome go about from hand to hand, to diſſwade men from taking the Oath of Allegiance; others, and thoſe not a few of late years, have been printed and ſold publicly in behalf of a General Toleration. What is, if this be not, to aſſault the publick ſettlement? and either to force our Governors to alter it, or to ſet the people againſt them for continuing it? Not to mention the Reproaches that are thrown upon the Memory of them by whom the ſettlement was made. Whereas, here, is no deſign to alter any thing of it, any farther than may be needful to make it the more practicable in our times. To a people that is always prone to Compaſſion, and of late ſo much diſcompoſed by a Civil War, no doubt the extreme ſeverity

of

of Laws is likely to hinder the Practicableneſs of them. And it is not the Severity of Laws, but the Practice, that tends to the Security of the State. And therefore the Alteration here propoſed is ſo far from having any Reflection on the Wiſdom of our Legiſlators in former times, that there is no reaſon to doubt that they would have made it themſelves if they had lived in our preſent Circumſtances. If the Author commit any error in judging thus; he is not obſtinate in it, but ſubmits this together with the reſt to the Judgment of wiſe and good men; and eſpecially to the Publick Wiſdom, which muſt be Acknowledg'd to be the moſt proper, and it were well if it were the only Judg in theſe matters.

[b] Chiefly from p. 80. till the Concluſion.

The other things [b] *contained in this Book were added by another Perſon; who, being well perſuaded of the uſefulneſs of the foregoing deſign, was deſirous to Improve it to farther Advantage. And therefore he thought it would be an uſeful Labour, and prudent Counſel; not only to render the Civil State eaſie to the peaceable Romaniſts among us, but to make them alſo well diſpoſed to our Church, as well as State. He is of opinion, that, if many of their Nobility and Gentry,*

Gentry, and ſome of their moderate Clergy, ſhall once come to live amicably with us, on the terms here mentioned, or on any other that ſhall be thought more diſcreet and ſeaſonable; they would by degrees ſuffer themſelves to be calmly inſtructed in the Juſtice of our Cauſe, and they would without Prejudice examin which ſide is to be blam'd for the Diviſions between us. And then he doubts not but many of them would in time diſcover how much they have been miſ-informed concerning the State of our Differences.

To this purpoſe, hoping to find the moſt Ingenuous of their Laity, and even ſome of their well-meaning Prieſts, in good humour, while they are reading a Book which pleads ſomething in their favour; he has taken this opportunity to give them ſome light into the occaſion and progreſs of the firſt breach between us and them. This he knows to be a Subject, in which the Generality of their Laity and Clergy are moſt confident, and ſeem moſt to triumph. But they are much miſtaken in matter of Fact; as here the Reader will ſee it evidently prov'd, out of Unqueſtionable Records, and Impartial Writers,

ters, many even of their own side. From whence it will appear that the whole business of the Schism was begun and continued on the Popes side for their Secular Interests and Passions; whilest the Reformation, on the part of our Church and State, was managed all along with great Justice and prudent Moderation.

After all that has been said, it is more than possible, that of one sort of men, there may be some (I hope not the wisest among them) who upon other Accounts may take offence at both Parts of this Book.

In the Political part, perhaps offence may be taken at the Liberty of this Proposal; as seeming too favourable to them of the Roman Communion, without the like Consideration for any other Dissenters. But the favour here proposed in behalf of the Romanists, is not more than they enjoy among Protestants abroad at this day: nor so much as the Generality of those who are most zealous against them have thought fit heretofore to allow to persons differing only in opinion. They did not think it fit that even Heretics themselves should suffer any Capital Punishment, barely upon

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Account of their Opinions, how dangerous ſoever they might be to mens Souls. Some, even of themſelves, have written of late that no puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on men for opinions that are not dangerous to the State. They who are of this mind have no reaſon to take offence at this Book, becauſe the favour deſired in it is for Perſons as Innocent in that Reſpect as themſelves. And for them that think Errors are puniſhable by the State, on Account of the hurt that they do to mens Souls; they will not find ſo great occaſion of Offence as they may poſſibly expect. For the Author does not plead for any other Exemption of Roman-Catholick, than ſuch as will leave them ſtill liable to as much ſeverity, as themſelves, if they are obnoxious to the Laws, can think fit to be inflicted on men barely for Differences in Opinion. Here is nothing propoſed for their Exemption from any Incapacitating Laws, or from the Penalties againſt ſaying Maſs publickly, or againſt their endeavouring to make Proſelytes; which laſt thing is Death to Roman-Catholicks, and not at all penal to any other. Theſe things being conſidered together, their Condition will not be to be envied by any

other Dissenters, if they should have all the favour that is propounded for them in this Book. But the Common Protestant Religion will be better secured by it, which ought to satisfie any one that pretends to that Name.

For that Part which concerns the Controversies, it is suggested by another, (which otherwise the Author could scarce have expected,) that some may think him too favourable to the Romish Opinions, or too much unconcerned for the Defence of other Protestant Churches. He does not see how any one, that minds what he reads, can suspect him of favour to the Principles of the Roman Communion; having given sufficient reason, why he cannot embrace them, without losing his hopes of Salvation. In the managing of the Controversie, if he seem not to write in the Defence of any other Reformed Church; his Answer is, that he does not write to the Adversaries of the Reformed Religion, in any other than in his Majesties Dominions. And if his Defence of our Church be sufficient, it will overthrow that Infallibility of the Roman Church, by which she pretends a Jurisdiction over all others, and by which alone all her particular

ticular Impoſitions are Juſtifiable. Which will afford an eaſie Apology to other Churches who do not think themſelves oblig'd to ſubmit to thoſe Impoſitions.

THE

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THE

The Reader is desired to take notice that the Quotations out of L. Herbert's *History of* K. Henry *VIII. were taken at distant times out of two Books of different Editions, and not Paged alike; and that this was not observed, till those sheets in which the Quotations are had past the Press.*

The ERRATA *of any Moment are to be Corrected as follows.*

PAg. 2. lin. 13. (anciently famous) p. 14 l. 25. of this. p. 17. l. 31. And yet that. p. 29. l. 14, 15. no Parenthesis. p. 46. l. 33. in the *margin* Ib. ann. 1602. p. 276. p. 47. l. 1. in the *margin* put out the same words. ibid. l. 24. dependance on the. p. 53. l. 33. undistinguishing execution of Laws, p. 58. l. 33. convince such a one that all his. p. 64. l. 9. in their streets. p. 67. l. 27. pretence to the. p. 81. l. 6. Christ, he. p. 84. l. 14. Churches Epistle to. p. 85. *margin*, last line, *Anno* 445. p. 91. l. 8. in *margin. Schism.* p. 103. b. *Edit.* 1585. p. 92. l. 19. he would never. l. 15. in *marg.* L. *Herb. Anno* 1529. p. 271. l. 26. in *marg.* the First, l. 29. *Pallavic. Hist. Conc. Trent.* II. 15. 5. p. 94. *marg.* l. 4. *Camd.* Ib. p. 1. & 2. p. 94. l. 20. delays, and either. p. 100. l. 2. Three. p. 101. l. 28. & 29. (to use his own words) p. 102. l. 12. large an account. p. 104. l. 29. Particularly *should begin a Paragraph.* p. 107. l. 30. had his Traitorous. p. 113. l. 26. in *marg. Camd. Eliz.* p. 13. l. 29. in *marg.* she put out. p. 115. l. 30. pass without any.

Conſiderations

Abont the true way of Suppreſſing

POPERY

IN THIS

KINGDOM.

AMong the ignorant Vulgar, there are many falſe and wild Notions of Popery; ſome of which being admitted to be true, would render the Church of *England*, and all other Reformed Churches Popiſh. Other Notions of it would in like manner ſtigmatize all thoſe Famous Churches in the more remote parts of the World, which have not been in Communion with the Pope theſe eight hundred years. And others, in the laſt place, would no leſs deeply brand thoſe who are moſt given to aſperſe others, even the wildeſt of Phanaticks and Enthuſiaſts themſelves, as being Popiſhly principled.

All Churches and Sects are Popiſh: according to ſome mens Notions of Popery.

If it be, as ſure it is, very abſurd to charge Popery on thoſe eminent Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches, which ever ſince the Separation of the

No Rites nor Doctrines common to other Churches, which are not in Communion with the Pope, can be Popish, but in a false Notion of the word.

one, and the Reformation of the other, have purged forth, and kept themselves free from all that which is properly Popish; and have therefore been anathematized by the Pope himself, and excluded from the Communion of all those Christians which hold him for their Ecclesiastical Head: It must also be no less absurd to charge with Popery those Tenets of Belief, and Rites of Worship (however false and unnecessary in themselves) wherein the Roman Catholick Churches differ from the English Protestant, and other Churches of the Reformation; but agree with those anciently famous Patriarchical Churches; and almost with all other in the remote parts of the World.

Having thus, how briefly soever, said what may be sufficient, to exclude the many, both incongruous and injurious Notions of *Popery*; which also would be insignificant, if they were admitted, I shall in the next place endeavour to set forth the only true, proper and significant notion of it.

And yet if I be not much deceived, 'twill be no hard matter to fix upon, and shew, wherein this only right Notion of *Popery* does consist. The very derivation of the word, and obvious reason of the thing, necessarily imported thereby, may assure us, it cannot in a few significant words be describ'd to be either less, or more, or any way other, than *An undue adhæsion to the Bishop of Rome, in Principles or Practices falsly pretended to be Christian.*

The true Notion of Popery describ'd.

I ſay, *To the Biſhop of Rome*, becauſe he it is that hath for many Ages paſt, appropriated to himſelf the name of *Pope*, which was formerly common to all Biſhops; as every one knows that has been converſant in the Writings of the Fathers.

I ſay alſo, *An undue adhæſion in Principles*, &c. for it's ſuppoſed to be an ill thing that is to be *ſuppreſt*. Now it is not ill to confeſs the Apoſtles Creed, or to do any good thing that he does; but to follow him, or to joyn with him in any thing that is evil; that is chiefly, to aſſert an undue Power or Authority in the Pope, ſuch as that which he aſſumes to himſelf over the whole Chriſtian Church; and conſequently, to embrace and to practice thoſe Errours and Corruptions (whatſoever they are) that by virtue of that uſurpt Power and Authority, he impoſes on all thoſe that are or ſhall be in Communion with him; and excommunicates all that will not come to thoſe terms; not ſo much for their Averſneſs to thoſe Doctrines and Practices, as becauſe they will not ſubmit to his Power and Authority.

Though I muſt withal obſerve here, as conſequential to my former Obſervation of ſo many falſe Notions of *Popery*, that laying aſide its Capital Errour; (*viz.* That which directly aſſerts the pretended univerſal Power of the Pope) it is no neceſſary evil of any inferiour, ſubſervient Errours or Practices, at leaſt, of any of thoſe which are not peculiar to the Roman Church (how falſe or vain ſoever they be in themſelves) but the unneceſſary embracing them out of pure

ſubmiſſion to the uſurpt Authority of the Roman Biſhop, now ſtiled *Pope*, and the only *Pope* of the World, is it, that in any right ſenſe of the word, renders them truly *Popiſh*. And this I muſt acknowledge to be ſo, whether we regard the Derivation of the word, or Reaſons of the thing it ſelf. I mean, thoſe Reaſons which evince the only proper ſignificant Notion of *Popery*, to be that which I have given before in the feweſt words I could well fix upon to define or deſcribe it.

What thoſe Reaſons are, we have, as to one part of them, ſeen already (by ſeeing that if Popery be taken otherwiſe, all Chriſtian Churches in the World muſt be confeſſedly Popiſh;) and as to the other part alſo, we ſhall now ſee.

Of the Pope's Authority over all Chriſtians.

For now I am to ſhew, that even by the judgment of ſuch as ought beſt to underſtand their own Doctrine, the very chief thing in Popery, is the owning and aſſerting the Papal Authority. Without queſtion, there is nothing which they have more driven at from the beginning, or which they now more eagerly contend for in the Roman Church, and eſpecially the governing part of it; as it were eaſie to ſhew in many inſtances; but a few will ſuffice, becauſe the matter is ſo well known to all men of Reading and Experience.

To begin with the Original of Popery. There is nothing more certain and plain in Church-Hiſtory, then that the primitive Chriſtians, being generally Subjects of the Roman Empire, had a very great reſpect for the Biſhops of *Rome*, becauſe that was the Imperial City. And yet it is as plain, that thoſe

thoſe Biſhops had no Authority or Juriſdiction out of their own Province, that is beyond the ſuburbicary Region of *Italy*, till after the Diviſion of the Roman Empire into Eaſtern and Weſtern. It was not long after that diviſion, and chiefly upon the weakneſs of the Weſtern Empire, that that Power, which we now call the Papacy, grew up. As the Empire decay'd, ſo by degrees it encreaſed and gathered ſtrength; the deſign being at firſt, not to ſet up a new Religion, but a new Monarchy in the place of the old then expiring. The *Cæſars* having made *Rome* their ſeat of Empire for ſo many Ages, and being at laſt driven out by the barbarous Nations, it ſeemed as if the Genius of the place had inſpired the Roman Biſhops to perk up, and to erect a new Empire in the ſtead. Which was no hard thing for them to do, being aſſiſted with all manner of advantagious circumſtances.

This Authority was the firſt thing in Popery.

Having learn'd from their Predeceſſors, to derive their deſcent from St. *Peter*, how truly, it matters not, this gave them colour enough to take upon them to be all that he was. Their See, their Traditions, their Dictates, were all ſtiled *Apoſtolical*. The Popes Title was then, *His Apoſtleſhip*; for *His Holineſs* was too Vulgar in thoſe days. Whatſoever Preheminence or Power thoſe *Cæſars* by their Laws, or their Subjects the Chriſtian Biſhops in their Councils had given them, as being Biſhops of the Imperial City, when they had gain'd the City wholly to their Devotion, and made their party among the barbarous Nations, they ſcorn'd to hold it any longer by gift:

gift. All that had been ſo given them, and whatſoever they graſp'd more, they held it *Jure Divino*, as being Heirs and Succeſſors to St. *Peter*. By this means having ſhook off their Obligation to Canons and Laws, they took upon them to be as Infallible as St. *Peter* was; whoſe very name they did not ſtick to uſurp when they pleaſed, as if *Chriſt* had ſpoken to them, whatſoever he ſaid perſonally to *Cephas*. And whoſoever objected (as ſome always did) that thoſe Pretenſions were new, and that there is no ground for them in Scripture, they could then face them down with thoſe things which now they do not love to hear of; namely, with forg'd decretal Epiſtles, or Councils, or Fathers, or with pretended Revelations and Viſions, or with counterfeit Miracles. For all which they had thoſe at their beck, who (though ignorant enough otherwiſe) had more learning and skill to forge ſuch things, than others had at that time to diſprove them.

All other Popiſh Errours were brought in by it.

Thus in a blind Age (nay many Ages together) when this part of the World was conducted and governed in ſpiritual things by one-eyed men, for the Popes themſelves were no better, it is no wonder that the generality of the people ran into ſo many Errours as they did, to the great hurt and ſcandal of the Chriſtian Religion. And though 'tis charitable to believe, that at firſt there was no deſign to have thoſe Errours obtruded on the Faith of Poſterity; yet appearing to be ſuch, as might be of great uſe for the wealth and greatneſs of the Clergy, who were ſtrongly attach'd to the Roman See, nay ſome of them to the

the Advancement of the Papacy it ſelf: the Pope had great cauſe to look kindly upon them, and to wiſh they were no Errours, but Catholick Doctrines (and if he pleaſed to have them ſuch, who durſt ſay they were otherwiſe?) When they had once receiv'd that publick countenance from him, he had much greater cauſe to continue it, and by all poſſible ways to keep them in poſſeſſion of that eſteem which thoſe dark times had given them. And that not only for affection, as before, on the account of their uſefulneſs to himſelf and his Clergy; but for fear that if theſe Errours were detected and brought in diſgrace, it might reflect on the Infallibility of the Roman See, and might give men occaſion to look farther, and to examine the whole Fabrick of Popery; which being ſearch'd to the bottom, it could not but appear, that the Fundamental Errour was that which gave the Pope ſuch a Power and Authority over the whole Chriſtian Church.

This was truly the cauſe why ſuch care was continually taken in all the latter general Councils (for ſo the Pope was pleas'd to call thoſe Conventions of his Vaſſels, in which nothing paſs'd but what he pleas'd) to eſtabliſh thoſe popular Errours as they grew up, and to put them out of queſtion by their Canons and Decrees. Whereas the great capital Errour was never defin'd, but ſuppoſed, and paſs'd (as all Fundamentals do) by ſuch a general conſent, as is ſtronger than all poſitive Laws whatſoever.

This Authority is the chief thing in Popery.

It paſs'd thus for many Ages, till upon occaſion of that long Schiſm, when for about fifty years, the

the Western Church carried double, a Pope and an Antipope, that rid Cursing and Damning one another, the Council of *Constance* being met to judge which was which, deposed both, and began to set bounds to the Papacy. It was follow'd by the Council of *Basil*; which presuming to do the same, and being likely enough to have gone farther; the Pope that then was, call'd an opposite Council, and therein settled his Authority by a Law. It was the Council of *Florence*, which though not acknowledg'd by many Roman Catholicks abroad, and particularly, not by the generality of them in *France:* Yet since I write this to English men, I shall shew what they of our Nation thought of it, at the last Revolution to Popery; from whence we may take some kind of measure, and guess what many would be at again.

It was declar'd by the Cardinal Legate, [a] with consent of his Synod at *London*, that *the cause of all the evils in this Church, sprang from hence, that departing from the Unity and Doctrine of the Catholick Church, we had relinquished the Authority and Obedience of the Pope of* Rome, *Christ's Vicar, and the Successor of* Peter. The denial of this Authority, was declar'd [b] to be the chief Errour of Protestants. To correct which, they thought fit to set forth the true Doctrine, as it was delivered in the Eighth General Council at *Florence*, held under Pope *Eugenius* IV. of happy memory, in these words: *We declare, That the holy Apostolical See and Pope of* Rome, *holds the Primacy over all the World; and that the Pope of* Rome *is the Successor of St.* Peter, *the Prince of the Apostles, and is the true*

[a] *Poli. Reformatio Angliæ decr.* 1.

[b] *Ib. decr.* 2.

true Vicar of Christ, and Head of the whole Church, and Father and Teacher of all Christians; and that to him, in St. Peter, *our Lord Jesus Christ gave full power to feed, rule and govern the Universal Church.*

Since the Council of *Florence*, there have been only two pretended General Councils; namely, the fifth *Lateran*, and the Council of *Trent*; both which were acknowledged by that Synod of *London* above mentioned. The fifth *Lateran* Council was call'd by the Pope, for no other end, but that he might be able to write their Approbation in the ſtile of thoſe Bulls which he ſhould publiſh for the greatneſs of the Papacy. In the firſt of thoſe [c] Bulls, he damn'd the *Piſan* Council, which the French King had aſſembled againſt him. In the ſecond, [d] he laid an Interdict on the whole Kingdom of *France*, and ordered the Fair of *Lions* to be removed from thence to *Geneva*. In a third, [e] he annulled the famous pragmatick Sanction, the *Palladium* of the French Church. And ſo went on, till having brought the French King to his terms, his next Bull [f] was, to ſet himſelf above all General Councils; and to declare, That all Chriſtians, *ſub neceſſitate ſalutis*, under pain of Damnation, muſt be ſubject to the Pope of *Rome*, according to that *Luciferian* Conſtitution of *Boniface* VIII, which he mentions and approves, and confirms. All this he does with conſent of that Council. The Council of *Trent*, which came laſt, and pinn'd the Basket, not only took care to leave the Pope in full poſſeſſion of this uſurp'd Power, by declaring, [g] that no act of theirs ſhould infringe

[c] *Conc. Lateran. V. Seſſ.* 2.

[d] *Seſſ.* 3.

[e] *Seſſ.* 4.

[f] *Seſſ.* 11.

[g] *Conc. Trident. Seſſ.* 25. *decr. de Reform. c.* 21.

fringe it, and by making him Judge and Interpreter of all their Decrees; but also confirmed it to him, as much as in them lay. For they ordained, [h] That in every Church of the Roman Communion, at the first Provincial Synod after that Council, every Member thereof, should promise and profess true Obedience to the Pope; and that all that were preferr'd for the future, whether to Bishoprick, Dignity, or Cure of Souls, should promise and swear the like Obedience, in such form as the Pope should prescribe. Whereupon Pope *Pius* IV. made that [i] form of Profession of Faith, that is every where taken at this day; whereof one Clause is, *I promise and swear true Obedience to the Pope of* Rome, *Successor to St.* Peter, *Prince of the Apostles, and Vicar of Jesus Christ.*

[h] *Ib. c.* 2.

[i] *Ib. in Contin. decr.* 5.

Beside these publick Acts, which have a general influence on all parts and Members of the Roman Communion; there is a special tye on the governing part of it (if not by their interest) by another Oath, which is taken by all Archbishops, Bishops & Abbots at their Consecration. The form of it is prescrib'd in the Roman *Pontificale*; to which I refer the Reader that would see it at large. There he may see how all Church-Governours of that Communion, bind themselves to the Pope, to be his Liege-men and Subjects, his Counsel-keepers, his Spies and Intelligencers, his constant Correspondents, his Factors, his sworn Servants, in expres terms, *To the utmost of their power to persecute and impugn all Hereticks, Schismaticks and Rebels against the Pope* (their own natural

tural Prince, Parents, Kindred and Friends not excepted.) I wiſh every Proteſtant (who is in their ſenſe an Heretick, *&c.*) would be pleas'd to read that Oath, and then judge what he is to expect from any of theſe men; unleſs he knows they are ſuch as will be perjur'd for his ſake.

It was ſurely not without cauſe, that Cardinal *Bellarmine* call'd the Doctrine of the Pope's Authority over all Chriſtians, *Caput Fidei*, the Head of the Catholick Faith. I have ſhewn that it is ſo in their ſenſe of the word *Catholick*. A Doctrine that is the only Fundamental of Popery; the Foundation whereof was firſt laid in the Papal Authority, and the whole Building of Popery in other points, has been raiſed in favour to it. A Doctrine that has ſince been ſecured and confirmed by Canons of Councils, and by the Oaths of all their Clergy. A Doctrine to which the Leaders and Guides of their Church, are ſworn to ſacrifice all that's dear to them: And which way the Guides go, there's no fear but the Laity will follow them with that blind Obedience, which is peculiar to them in the Roman Church.

And therefore whatſoever Notion we have of Popery in other things, the Pope himſelf is not ſo fond of them, but that to gain the point of Authority, he can either connive, or abate, or part with them wholly, if he pleaſes: Though no doubt he never does it, but inſidiouſly, as well knowing, that whatſoever Conceſſion he makes for the eſtabliſhing of his Authority, he may afterwards annul, and will do it when ſoever he pleaſeth.

Obedience to this Authority the only ſure property of Roman Catholicks.

But that the owning his Authority, is the thing which makes a Catholick in his ſenſe, and that only, it appears by ſundry Inſtances abroad; but none more memorable then thoſe which we have had here in *England*. Where King *Henry* VIII. having caſt off his Obedience to the Pope, was therefore judged a Heretick; and underwent the worſt that *Rome* could have done to him, if he had rejected all their Errours together; and yet he aſſerted all the reſt, and impoſed them with the utmoſt ſeverity. He was a through-Papiſt in all points, but only that of Obedience; in compariſon whereof, all the reſt are but talk. That is the buſineſs, as we are taught by this example. And we are not a little confirm'd by the proceeding on the other hand, with his daughter *Elizabeth*; who being as much a Proteſtant as any is, or can be at this day; and having ſo ſettled Religion in her Kingdom, that it had ſcarce been in her power to have altered it, how and when ſhe pleaſed; yet if ſhe could but have been brought to acknowledge the Popes Authority, to which ſhe was courted by all poſſible ways, how gladly would his Holineſs have received her? and abated for leſſer things, that is, for all things elſe; if it be true, that the Pope would have allowed her the Engliſh Liturgy that then was, and the Communion-Service, as it was generally reported he would: And we have the more cauſe to believe it, becauſe we hear of the like offers prepared for us, in order to perſwade the reſtoring of Popery in our days.

Camd. Eliz. anno 1560.

I conceive it is ſufficiently proved, that the chief thing in Popery, is the Doctrine which aſſerts the Popes Authority over all Chriſtians. I ſhall adde, that it is the worſt of all the evils which Popery contains, the moſt hurtful and miſchievous both to Church and State; which being proved to my hand in ſundry Learned Diſcourſes within theſe few years, I ſhall not need to ſay much on this head.

It is alſo the worſt thing in Popery.

Yet I cannot but mind the Reader of that which is moſt notorious, and which every one knoweth, that hath read over almoſt any Hiſtory of theſe laſt Eight hundred years. For about ſo long ſince it was, that the Church received the greateſt Wound that ever was given it, a Breach not to be repaired, a Schiſm that reacheth throughout the whole Univerſe. So long a time the Weſtern Church, that is, the Weſtern part of *Europe*, hath been a Church by it ſelf; having broke off all Communion with all other Churches in the World, that is, with all the *Aſian* and *African* Churches, and all thoſe in the Eaſt and North parts of *Europe*. Inſtead of that Love and Peace which Chriſt left as his Legacy among Chriſtians, there hath been for ſo many Ages nothing elſe but Banning and Curſing between them. As the Pope yearly curſes all thoſe Chriſtians that are not of his Communion; ſo he and his are yearly curſt by the four ancient Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch* and *Jeruſalem*; and by all the Chriſtian Churches depending on them, except thoſe few whom he hath conquer'd, or bought, or otherwiſe gain'd by his Miſſionaries. The original

ginal cauſe of this Breach, was nothing elſe but the Popes Uſurpation, which thoſe Churches were not able to bear. It was the ſame cauſe, that many Ages after, divided this Weſtern part of *Europe* within it ſelf. For our Church was thrown out of the Roman Communion, many years before any thing elſe was reformed in it; when there was no other difference between us, but only this, that we had caſt off the Popes Uſurpation.

This breach of Chriſtian-Unity, were of it ſelf a great miſchief to the Church, though nothing elſe came of it but Hatred and Unchriſtian Cenſures, in which perhaps, both ſides might be to blame, but yet they might live and grow wiſer, and come at laſt to underſtand one another. And this would poſſibly enſue upon any other difference of Opinion. But this grand point of Popery is ſuch, as ſets men in no ordinary heat; it makes them breath not only Cenſures, but Death againſt their Adverſaries; it arms out all the Wealth, Power and Policy of them that hold it, to reduce or deſtroy all them that oppoſe it. Not to rip up ancient ſtories, we have a ſad inſtance this in the Greek Church, which refuſing to ſubmit to the Pope, was betray'd by him to the Turk; under whom it hath groaned theſe two hundred years. In all which time of bondage and miſery, which that poor Church hath endured, what relief hath ſhe had from the Intereſt or Wealth of the Papacy? I cannot ſay, but there have been, and are daily great returns thither of money from *Rome*; but all the uſe of them, is to hire her

Children

Children againſt her for bread; or to bribe the Turks Baſſa's to do her all the hurt that is poſſible. We have the leſs cauſe to take it ill, if we find the Popes Agents buſie among us, and if we feel the woful effects of their diligence, in our inteſtine Diviſions, and in the growth of Atheiſm, which we cannot but be ſadly ſenſible, are both much increaſed ſince the late Toleration. In theſe and the like practiſes, they plainly declare, that rather then not bring in Popery, they would drive out Chriſtianity before them; and not leave the name of Chriſt to the people, that will not receive the Pope as his Vicar.

How thoſe Churches where he is ſo received and bears rule, as he would do among us, are bleſſed in it, we may partly gueſs by the means that he employs to get us under him. For it is ſeldom known, that they who are ſo greedy of power, uſe it well when they have it. But not to go by gueſs, when we have a Map before us: We may ſee the condition of his Subjects deſcrib'd by ſome of themſelves, that writ in thoſe times when men durſt write of ſuch things; when there was no Inquiſition for them, nor no *Index Expurgatorius* for their Writings. I believe, a more cruel Bondage, a more miſerable Thraldom and Yoke then they deſcribe never was among the barbarous Nations. I believe alſo the Inquiſition, where it is introduc'd, hath not made their condition eaſier ſince. And that it is not introduc'd in ſome Countreys, as namely, in *France* and *Flanders*, they may thank the poor Proteſtants for it: Where ſuch are, the Pope will have a

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care not to make too much noiſe, for fear of frighting away the Birds that he would take. And yet in *France*, where there is no Inquiſition, he found other ways not long ſince, to make the *Janſeniſts* feel the weight of his hand, and that ſeverely; for no other reaſon, but becauſe in certain School-points, they preſum'd to oppoſe another party that were more firm to his Intereſts.

If this be his way of keeping Unity, for which they ſo much cry up his Government (though men do not ſpeak ſo well of the *Ruſſian*, which keeps Unity better:) I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould not be content, and endure our diſſentions; or rather find ſome other way to compoſe them, than by putting our necks into a yoke, which being once faſtned, it will be too late for us to complain afterward. We muſt either draw as he would have us, or elſe go to the Shambles.

For the Temporal State, how it hath been turmoild with this Papal Uſurpation, would ask a large Book to deſcribe, as the matter deſerves. I ſhall only ſay this, that ever ſince it began, it hath hung like a Comet, over Kingdoms and Nations, and ſhed forth direful Influences on all that have been any way obnoxious to it. But it came not to its height, till Pope *Hildebrand's* days, whom their heavenly Muſter-Roll * calleth St. *Gregory* VII. A Saint, no doubt, worthy of Red Letters; for he cauſed the ſhedding of more Chriſtian Blood than *Mahomet* himſelf; and as *Mahomet* did, he taught his Sect to do the ſame, and merit Heaven by it. His Dictates are commonly

* *Martyrolog. Roman.* Maii 25.

monly known, being publiſh'd, both in his Books, and in the Councils. I appeal to any one that hath read them, whether Antichriſt at his coming (if he be yet to come) can * *ſpeak greater things.* Sure I am, nothing can be more contrary to the humble and meek ſpirit of Chriſt. Among theſe, there is one Doctrine briefly expreſſed, but more amply declared in his Bulls, and in his actions purſuant to them. It is concerning a power that he aſſumes to himſelf to depoſe Kings, and to diſpoſe of their Kingdoms. Which Arrogant Claim (ſuch as none but the Devil * ever made before him) hath ever ſince been continued by his Succeſſors; and yet is, as often as they ſee occaſion, both declared and manifeſted by the like Bulls and actions. The woful effects of it throughout this Weſtern part of *Europe*, are notoriouſly known to all that read Hiſtory; having torn the Bowels of this part of Chriſtendom like an Earthquake, for theſe laſt ſix hundred years, having ſhaken the Foundations of all Empires, Kingdoms and States, involving all of them, at one time or other, in bloody and cruel Wars, accurſed and unnatural Rebellions, and all other conſequent Calamities. In *Germany* particularly, where it firſt began to operate: The two next Emperours were fain to fight no leſs than ſixty Field-battels to keep their Crowns upon their Heads. In *France* it hath wrought proportionably. Other Countreys have ſuffered their ſhare. But none more than *England* in King *John*'s miſerable days. And that had been forgotten in 88. if the deſign had taken, which God only could, and did defeat; when otherwiſe this Do-

* Rev. 13. 5.

* Luke 4. 6.

 ctrine.

ctrine, in all probability, had deſtroyed the Engliſh Kingdom and Nation, we had been gone, and our name had ſcarce remained upon the face of the Earth.

It is worſt in the Conſtruction of the Law.

The ſad experience of the manifold miſchiefs and dangers, both to Church and State, from this pretended Authority, taught our Fore-fathers at ſundry times, to provide againſt it by Laws, with ſuch Penalties annex'd to them, as they found needful, to prevent the like miſchiefs and dangers for the future. It appears, that the ancienteſt Laws of this kind, were made by them that lived and died in the Roman Communion: I mean, the Laws of *Proviſors* and *Præmunire*, enacted ſome hundreds of years ſince by Roman Catholick Kings and their Parliaments; who could have no deſign againſt any other of thoſe things we call Popery; for they held the ſame erronious Opinions which our now-Papiſts do, though they held them not as Articles of Faith. But they endeavoured by thoſe Laws, to ſecure themſelves againſt the daily Encroachment of the Pope, and his Faction in the Roman Church. When thoſe Banks were found inſufficient to reſtrain the growing Torrent within its bounds, they found it needful to ſtop the Channel, to exclude the Papacy it ſelf, and turn it out of the Kingdom. This was done by King *Henry* VIII, upon ſuch a Provocation, as perhaps would have moved a much gentler Prince to do the ſame. For he was made to dance Attendance upon the Court of *Rome* five or ſix years, for Sentence in a Cauſe, which he commenced not of himſelf, but by advice of the

the Popes Legat, and his Confeſſor: A Cauſe which the Pope himſelf at firſt had encouraged; in which he had the judgment of the whole Church of *England*, and divers Foreign Univerſities of his ſide. His excluſion of the Papal Authority was by Acts both of Parliament, and of Convocation, almoſt no man diſſenting. They both form'd the Oath of Supremacy, and took it themſelves, and joyn'd with him in impoſing it, in direct oppoſition to this grand point. And yet this King himſelf, and all the Members of thoſe Bodies, were firm to all things elſe that we call Popery.

It was otherwiſe in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, of bleſſed Memory; who, at the entrance of her Reign, not only repair'd her Father's Fence againſt the Papal Authority, but alſo purged the Church of all thoſe Errours and Corruptions, which are yet retain'd and own'd by all them of the Roman Communion. And yet ſhe laid no penalty on any of them, but the loſs of their Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, and the payment of Twelve pence for every *Sunday* that they were abſent from Church. This is all that they ſuffer'd for many years, till the Pope took upon him to turn her out of her Kingdom. When he had publiſh'd his Bull to that purpoſe, and ſent it hither among her Subjects, and ſome of them had taken Arms, and tried all ways to put that Bull in execution; then ſhe enacted a Law, to forbid any of her Subjects, under pain of Premunire, to bring Bulls, or any other ſuch Trumpery from *Rome*, and made it Treaſon for any of them to be reconciled (as they call it) to the Ro-

Camd. Eliz. Anno 1571.

man Church. Yet for six years more, though some were taken in the offence, none suffer'd the
Ib. Anno 1577. penalty of that Law. When the Pope proceeded further in Hostility against her, to give away her Crown, to invade her Dominions, and to practise against her life; when she found, that under pretence of Religion, he drew over many of her Subjects, and train'd them up as his spiritual Janizaries, in Houses founded for that purpose; when she found, that at their return, they fully answered the ends of their Education, and rather listed Souldiers against her, than made Proselytes to their Religion; then she executed those former Laws, and made more from time to time, as they gave her occasion. In which Laws, though she found it necessary to forbid sundry Acts which were purely Religious, and to make it penal to such as were taken at them, because she had no other way to find out them that were dangerous to the state; yet she made it sufficiently appear, that the design of such Laws was only against dangerous persons, by the great care she took to turn the edge of them from those that were other-
Ib. Anno 1581. wise. She gave private Instructions to her Judges, that before any was to suffer by the Sanguinary Laws, they should examine him how he stood affected to the State; whether he owned *Hildebrands* Doctrine; whether he approved the Popes Sentence; whether he would side with him against her Majesty. If they found any one, in those Circumstances of a Prisoner dead in Law, so desperately bold, that he durst own a Foreign power, in defiance of her that had his life at her mercy;

she

ſhe would not have her Judges ſpare him, that ſhe might be very ſure, would not have ſpared her nor her Kingdom. Otherwiſe, if they ſtood right as to the Civil Authority, it was her will that none ſhould ſuffer death. And though they were ſuch of the Clergy, whom ſhe knew to be the Popes Diſciples and Penſioners, and therefore thought it not ſafe to truſt them in her Kingdom; yet if they gave her a fair anſwer, ſhe ſent them out of it quietly. And thus ſhe diſmiſt * ſome of them, that proved afterward as errant Traytors as any whom ſhe put to death. But for many other of their Clergy, and eſpecially thoſe who were Prieſts in Queen *Mary*'s days, knowing them to be of peaceable Principles, ſhe ſuffered them to live peaceably in her Kingdom. Of the Laity likewiſe, ſhe put none to death, that would diſown the Popes temporal power. She took only a pecuniary Mulct, with which ſhe thought fit to repair her ſelf for the charge ſhe was put to in defending her ſelf againſt the Head of their Communion. When that charge was apprehended to be over; namely, at King *James* his coming to the Crown, they were diſcharged even of thoſe pecuniary penalties. The King knew of no Sentence that the Pope had iſſued forth againſt himſelf; and finding no trouble from thoſe of his Communion, he was willing to give none. Nor did he, till he had tried them. None ſuffer'd among them in any kind; none had cauſe to be in fear of any ſuffering; no diſtinction was made between them and other Subjects. But this calm was ſoon interrupted, by the breaking out of a Conſpiracy,

* *Riſhton* ſays it of himſelf in his virulent Cont. of *Sand.* de *Schiſm. Angl.*

Conſpiracy, which yet ſeemed only to waken the vigilance of the State. For no great matter was done upon it, till another broke forth, that of the Powder-Treaſon, which out-went all former examples. And then (when it was almoſt too late) he underſtood by ſearching into this Conſpiracy, that though the Pope had not deprived him by name of the Kingdom, yet he had barred his right to it by a ſufficient Deſcription; having ſent out two Breves before the Queens death, in which he commanded all his Catholicks, not to ſuffer any *Proteſtant, how near ſoever in Blood,* to ſucceed her in the Kingdom. This Papal Precept it was, to which the Authors themſelves aſcribed their Gunpowder-Treaſon. And that the King might not always be in the like danger, he ſaw no way but to puniſh them that heeded ſuch Precepts. Other Papiſts he excuſed, and made himſelf, as it were, their Compurgator, declaring to the World, that he believ'd they were innocent and peaceable. Only they were not to be excuſed for keeping ill Company: For they joyned in all Religious Acts with thoſe of *Hildebrand*'s Sect; therefore they ought not to think much if their purſes paid for it. But otherwiſe the King did what lay in him to diſtinguiſh them. And therefore he provided the Oath of Alleigance, by the taking or refuſing whereof, he might be able to know the one from the other. That Oath was made at firſt in ſuch Terms, as might perhaps have raiſed ſcruple in thoſe that held the Papacy, to be of Divine Right, though not in Temporals, but only in Spiritual things. Though moſt of that Com-

Communion held otherwiſe in *France*, and few held ſo in *England*, in King *Henry* VIII's days. Yet leſt that might ſtick with any innocent perſon; the King, that deſired to hurt none that might be ſpared, and well knowing all their Principles, for he had ſtudied their Authors; therefore took upon him ſo to moderate the Oath, that it could not pinch the Conſcience of any Roman Catholick that was not firſt infected with *Hildebrand*'s Principles. And they were generally ſo well ſatisfied with the Oath in thoſe Terms, in which he had conceived it, that it was forthwith taken by the Superior of the Secular Clergy, and by many other, both of the Clergy and Laity. Few ſtuck at it, but thoſe of *Hildebrand*'s Sect; whom the King had a mind to ſingle out of the Herd, and to rid the Land of them, that he might live quietly with the other Roman Catholicks. But this pleaſed not at *Rome*, where only thoſe are the Darlings. And it concerned the Pope, to aſſert his own power in Temporals; which being ſomething the younger, he is more fond of than that in Spirituals; and yet the elder being the more popular, he wilfully miſtook, and perſwaded the people (as if he had believed himſelf) that the Oath was againſt his power in Spirituals. But he miſtook not in forbidding the Oath of Allegiance to be taken by any Catholick, upon any Terms whatſoever. His Prohibition was under pain of his Curſe; both which were confirm'd by one or more Popes ſince. And yet many of their Church took that Oath, and ſome of them defended it in writing; and 'tis taken and defend-

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ed in like manner to this day. By many others it is, and hath been refuſed: Whether as being contrary to the Principles of their Sect, or whether in Reverence to the Popes Prohibition; and poſſibly ſome may have refuſed to take the Oath, upon ſome ſcruple which they have conceived againſt the wording of it.

But whatſoever the cauſe of their refuſal may be, the State hath no way left to diſtinguiſh; and therefore being aſſured of the lawfulneſs of the Oath in theſe Terms, and being aware of the wicked deſign with which it is forbidden, hath juſt cauſe to ſecure it ſelf by their peril. It hath ſurely no cauſe to look on them as Friends, that prefer their own ſcruples to its ſafety; much leſs, that break its juſt Commands, to ſerve or to pleaſe its open Enemy. And for this cauſe, that wiſe and gracious Prince ſuffered ſome of their Clergy that were obnoxious otherwiſe, to fall under the edge of the Law. But never in his nor his Sons days, did any one of that Communion, ſuffer death for any Crime againſt the State, that would clear himſelf of it by taking the Oath of Allegiance.

From what I have ſaid, it ſufficiently appears, that the aſſerting an undue Authority in the Pope or Biſhop of *Rome*, is properly to be called Popery; 'tis the chief thing, and the only thing in the Popes eſteem; 'tis moſt hurtful and dangerous, and the worſt thing in the Conſtruction of the Law. From whence I ſhall infer, that among Roman Catholicks, ſome are properly Papiſts, and ſome are improperly called ſo. And however they

Papiſt, an equivocal word.

they are both of one Communion, and meet together in the same Offices of Worship, and therefore cannot easily be distinguished; (unless they please to distinguish themselves) yet there is a great difference between them: As great a difference in relation to the State, as there is between Wens and useful Members in the Body.

They that wholly deny the Popes Supremacy, cannot properly be called Papists, but *Unreformed Catholicks*; as men generally were here in *England*, in the later part of King *Henry* VIII's days. And they, as I believe, were the first that used the word *Papists*, to denote the Assertors of that outed Supremacy. Nor can they properly be called so in *France*, or other Countreys, who deny the Pope to have any Authority over them by Divine Right; but grant it only by such Canons and Laws, as being made upon good Considerations, may on better, be abrogated and repealed. I know there are some of this mind in *England*, and do believe there would appear to be many, if they found sufficient cause to declare it. * Now though such men believe the same erroneous Tenets, and use the same Superstitious and Idolatrous Rites that Papists do; namely, such as the Pope himself has made the Terms of his Communion, and therefore they are properly in Communion with him; yet those Tenets and Rites are not properly Popery. Though they are bad enough otherwise, yet if they keep them to themselves, they are not hurtful to Humane Society: As being consistent with the safety of the Kingdom, and with obedience to Government, and with Justice

Improperly Papists.

* *R. C.* (i. e.) *Ricardus Chalcedonensis*, alias, Dr. *Smith*, the last Roman Catholick Bishop that pretended Jurisdiction here in *England*, was of this mind, as appears by his Book against the Bishop of *Derry*, entituled, *A Brief Survey, &c.* *Vid. cap.* 5. *p.* 55. where he says, 'tis no point of Faith, whether the Pope be St. *Peter's* Successor *Jure Divino*, or *Humano*.

ſtice of Contracts, and love of Neighbours; with all which, at leaſt collectively taken, Popery in the proper Notion of it is inconſiſtent; and generally held ſo, not only by all other Chriſtians, but by a very great and conſiderable part of the Roman-Catholicks themſelves.

They are properly Papiſts, that hold the Pope as Vicar of Chriſt, by Divine Right, to have a Power and Authority over all Chriſtians. And yet if they give him this power in Spirituals only, and not alſo in Temporals, they are but *half-Papiſts*: And ſo they will find the Pope accounts them, if they have occaſion to make uſe of him. They only are *thorough-Papiſts*, that acknowledge his Authority in both. Firſt, directly in Spiritual things; and then in Temporals alſo, whether directly, or whether indirectly, in order to Spirituals, it matters not. Let him have the Power, and he will truſt himſelf with the uſe of it. Now this *thorough-Papiſt*, being a man after the Popes own heart, I ſhall from him take the perfect meaſures of Popery. He is one that aſſerts and maintains, or at leaſt practically ſubmits to the Popes pretended Power and Uſurpation; over all Kings and People in their Temporals; and over all Biſhops and Churches in their Spirituals; and in all things, over all perſons on earth, not only ſeparately, but collectively, in their Parliaments or Councils; and conſequently over all their Canons, Laws and Definitions. In few words, that owns him to be the Infallible Oracle, and Univerſal Vicar of God; a kind of God upon Earth, who has no limits to his Commiſſion, or to the execution

Half-Papiſts.

Thorough-Papiſts.

Their Deſcription.

Zenzelini Gloſſa; Dominus Deus noſter Papa. Vid. Gloſ. Extravag. Cum inter de verb. ſigniſ. Edit. Pariſ. An. 1585.

tion of it, but his own will and pleasure. This most excellent Systeme it is, that only passes at *Rome* for the Catholick Doctrine. This is authorized by the Pope, this is taught in his own Church at *Rome*, and elsewhere by his Stipendiaries or other Dependants. And this is properly Popish, for it belongs not to any other Christians of whatsoever Church, Sect or Denomination: Nor is it owned by the far greater number of them that are or call themselves Roman Catholicks.

I have given my own private Opinion, as well of the true, as of the false Notion of Popery; and have intimated withal (though but occasionally) what my Opinion is, as well of the great Concernment of the Christian World, if not of all Mankind, to suppress Popery, truly such; as of the little occasion there is, for any great severity to be used against that for Name-sake, which in truth is not Popery, nor has any essential or necessary conjunction with it.

Now to enter upon the main design of this Paper; which, according to the title, is a Consideration or Search for the true way of suppressing of Popery, I declare my design to be against Popery in its proper Notion. And whereas I have shewn a lower degree of it to consist in owning the Popes power in Spirituals only; by suppressing of this, I intend, at least, such a restraint upon it, as may suffice to keep it from being hurtful or troublesom. For the other degree, which cannot but be hurtful wheresoever it is in being: I declare my design to be no less, than the extinguishing of it, at least out of *England*, and, The main Argument.

if it were poſſible, from the face of the Earth.

Undiſtinguiſhing Severity is not the way to ſuppreſs Popery.

Of this matter to deliver my thoughts with all freedom, I confeſs it ſeems to me, that undiſtinguiſhing Severity, whether of Laws, or of the execution of them, againſt all Roman Catholicks in general, cannot be the true way to ſuppreſs Popery; much leſs to rid it out of this Kingdom, or any other of his Majeſties Dominions.

The general Motives which induce me to think ſo, are theſe three: 1. That ſuch a courſe in all likelihood, would not prove effectual. 2. That if it ſhould prove effectual, yet it would be very far from ſeeming juſt or equitable. 3. It would be againſt the intereſt of *England* in divers Contingencies.

It would be ineffectual.

1. That it would be ineffectual, I am perſuaded by the well-known experience of above a Hundred years, that is, of what hath paſs'd in this Kingdom ever ſince the Reformation. For notwithſtanding all the Penal Laws that have been made, and the execution of them, which was ſevere enough at ſome times; we ſee that ſtill there have been Roman Catholicks ever ſince; and they were never ſo much leſſen'd by their ſufferings, as by the Court of Wards, which took off many of the wealthieſt Families. But that which made them bear up againſt ſufferings was this, as I humbly conceive, That by divers of our Laws, or by the Interpreters and Executors of them (eſpecially of thoſe Laws that had pecuniary Penalties) they ſaw no diſtinction made between loyal and diſloyal; between peaceable and turbulent Principles;

ples; between matters ſimply of Religion, and thoſe which threatned the State. The ſame cauſe is like to have the ſame effect ſtill. And therefore I think we have juſt occaſion to fear, that if all men of that Communion are ſtill equally liable to the ſame puniſhments in any kind, and accordingly treated; it will be thought by themſelves, if not by others alſo, that their ſuffering is for ſome Articles of Catholick Religion, and not for any Principles either of Treaſon, or other Papal Superſtition (which Principles very many of them do as much, as any Proteſtant, with all their hearts abhor, and are ready to abjure.) And while they think ſo, it will undoubtedly cauſe (at leaſt a conſiderable number of them) to ſtand the utmoſt extremities; and thereby the Pope will peradventure gain more Proſelytes to his Communion, and more ſtrength to his ſide, than he will loſe from it.

Beſides, the number of their Prieſts at home, and of their Seminaries abroad, would not leſſen, but increaſe, by ſuch undiſtinguiſhing Severity. For divers of thoſe Sufferers, being ſtreightned with want, would ſend their Children beyond Sea, to get them off of their hands, to have them bred without charge, and put into a way of living. And they are ſo brought up, and ſo principled, in their Foreign Colledges, that let the Laws in *England* be never ſo ſevere, they will return hither, and not ſtick to venture their lives in the ſervice. Seminaries alſo would increaſe. For they are ſo addicted to their Religion beyond Sea, that, let a Preacher in a good Town ſollicite the

Charity

Charity of people towards the maintenance of ſuch as ſhall expoſe their Lives to propagate their Religion, and there will quickly be a new Foundation erected for that purpoſe. The Colledge in *Sivil* was maintain'd by Alms, and I think that at *Valledolid* likewiſe, and yet Scholars lived no where better. Theſe two Colledges, when the times were moſt ſevere to Roman Catholicks, ſent every year many Prieſts into *England*; and now in many years ſend none: But would undoubtedly grow numerous again, if the Fame of our Severity here ſhould quicken the peoples Charity in thoſe parts, which hath been ſlackned very much of late years.

Again, neigbouring Princes, who ſhall ſee men perſecuted for the ſame Perſwaſions which they profeſs themſelves, will interpoſe in their behalf; both of their own accord in ſome meaſure, and much more at the Popes Sollicitation; who will be ſure to engage all the credit he has with them, on ſuch an occaſion: And the intereſt of all neighbour States are ſo interwoven, that at one time or other it will be found inconvenient not to gratifie them in ſuch a requeſt.

There will oftentimes happen another kind of Obſtruction, even at home, from Engliſh Proteſtants themſelves. For I think it ought to be conſidered, that many Roman Catholicks, however abuſed in their Judgments about ſome matters of Divine Belief or Worſhip, are eſteemed by their Proteſtant neighbours honeſt, well-meaning men, ſuch as they cannot find in their hearts to uſe hardly, without great and evident Cauſe. Others have

have Relations, or Friends, or Dependants, tied by ſeveral intereſts to them. And even ſtrangers to the perſons who are to ſuffer the penalties of the Laws, will think it hard to inflict them on men that are no otherwiſe liable, than merely for ſuch Religious Tenets and Rites, as have been for many Ages warranted by the Laws, and held and practiſed by all Chriſtian People amongſt us.

So that, from one or other of theſe cauſes I have mentioned, it will prove a very difficult matter to have the Laws executed on Roman Catholicks, without Diſcrimination; that is, without ſeparating thoſe who are ſo qualifi'd for pity, from thoſe who deſerve none, in the judgment of any Proteſtant, nay of any true Engliſhman whatſoever. For no man that loveth the Peace of his Country, can think fit to ſpare them, who are ſo fond of a Foreign Government, that rather than not be under it, they will not ſpare to involve their Country in Blood and Miſery. Other men of that Principle, have done as bad in former times. And we have cauſe to be jealous of all men of that Religion, that they are of the ſame Principles, and will do the ſame things; unleſs they will ſecure us by ſome Act, which they may lawfully do, being required to it. Now it is evident, we have too many ſuch among us, who are thorough-Papiſts, and Miniſters of that Foreign Government; and many others, who will not ſecure us by doing any ſuch Act, that the State ſhall require, againſt the intereſt of that Foreign Government. Therefore the State hath

juſt

juſt cauſe to ſecure it ſelf againſt them, by ſuch Laws, as being executed, it ſhall not be in their power to do us hurt. But when thoſe Laws are made without any diſtinction, they Herd themſelves with others of their Communion; and being hunted together, they have ſome little trouble perhaps, which they laugh at, for they know it will come to nothing. After a while, good nature works in the Proteſtants; every man that ſhould execute the Laws, knoweth ſome or other that deſerve favour, and for their ſakes he will puniſh none. So the Proſecution at firſt grows cold, and at laſt ceaſes; till ſome freſh Apprehenſion of Danger awakens us, and then there will be a little more ſtir, to no purpoſe, as we have ſeen more then once in our days.

But laſtly, If the Laws are executed to the full, I ſpeak of Laws made without Diſcrimination, whatſoever ſeverity ſhall be uſed in purſuance of them, will chiefly light on the beſt and moſt innocent perſons; on them that are truly Engliſh, and have nothing to do with *Rome*, ſave that they live within her Communion. For the thorough-paced Papiſt will ſhift better than the other can do. The Jeſuites can equivocate, and teach their Scholars to do it. They can ſail with every wind, and rather than loſe their Port, they can do all that Proteſtants do. And if they have no Diſpenſation before hand, they can have a Pardon for it afterward: For they know where thoſe things are to be had, which any honeſt man, though of that Religion, abhors either to ask or need. And if a Jeſuite ſhould have ſo over-ſlept himſelf, that he

he is taken napping with other Catholicks; he is ſure to have Friends to bring him off. If none in *England* can do it, he has them abroad to help. If he be put to fly his Country, he knows whither to go. If he ſtep ſhort, and fall into a Priſon; there, at leaſt, he is ſure not to want either relief, or means for his deliverance. While the man of Loyal principles, if he fall into any of thoſe Circumſtances, is ſtuck, and knows not which way to look for help. For from whence ſhould he have it? At home he has no Friend that dares know him; abroad he has no manner of intereſt. For all there depend upon the Pope; who is ſo far from concerning himſelf for any, whom he knows to be no Papiſts, that he does not own them for Catholicks. And eſpecially if any ſuch be men of parts, whom he hears to be in Priſon, or the like, he only wiſhes them hanged out of the way, that he may have the reſt the more intirely at his Devotion.

Much more might be ſaid on this head, but what I have ſaid may ſuffice. And therefore to inſiſt no longer on that Queſtion, Whether undiſtinguiſhing Severity would be effectual or no? I come now to ſhew, that if it ſhould prove effectual, yet it would be very far from ſeeming juſt or equitable to indifferent men. And of this I am ſtrongly aſſured, firſt, by all the judgment I can make of the Intention of our Laws; ſecondly, by Arguments from the rule of right Reaſon, and the Ancient Practiſe of Chriſtianity.

2. It would not ſeem juſt and equitable.

I begin with the former, and obſerve, That although the Severity of our Penal Statutes, according to the bare letter of them, generally not diſtinguiſhing between Papiſts and Roman Catholicks, falls indifferently on both; yet, by the wording of them in ſeveral places, and by other Circumſtances, it appears, that they were intended againſt the Abettors of undue Authority in the Pope, and againſt no other.

For what appears in the wording of the Statutes, I ſhall inſtance only two; *viz.* 23 *Eliz.* and 3 *Jacobi*: Whereof the former, namely, that of Queen *Elizabeth*, expreſſes the crime to be puniſhed by the Statute, in theſe terms, *An intent to withdraw Subjects from their natural Obedience.* The other, namely, that of King *James*, which was very ſevere, as it ought to be on ſo great an occaſion, mentions this as the crime to be puniſhed by it: *The withdrawing Subjects from their natural Obedience, and moving them to promiſe Obedience to the pretended Authority of the See of* ROME.

That the Sanguinary Laws were intended againſt Popery in this ſenſe, and no other, it may further appear by the Account I have given before; where I briefly ſet forth on what occaſions they were made, and in what manner they were executed. It is evident, that none ever ſuffer'd Death as a Papiſt, who could be brought to take the Oath of Supremacy or Allegiance. Now it is certain, that thoſe Oaths were primarily deſigned to be a ſufficient Teſt to diſtinguiſh Papiſts from others. And yet in either of them, there is no mention made of any Doctrines, but only thoſe which concern Govern-

It is ſo expreſly provided in 27 *Eliz.* for the Oath of Supremacy, and 3 *Jac.* for the Oath of Allegiance.

Government; that is, the external Government both of Church and State. It is indeed objected by Papists against the Oath of Supremacy, and it sticks with some of those Roman Catholicks who are not Papists, that by the Oath of Supremacy, the King is made a spiritual Head of the Church. But he that reads the Oath, will find no such thing in it; and it is expresly declar'd by the Church of *England* in her Articles, That she ascribes to the King no other Jurisdiction over the Church, than what is meerly external; even the same that was exercised by the Kings of *Judah*, and the Christian Emperours, over the Church in their Kingdoms and Empires.

To this I may add, the constant Profession and Answer of all Protestant Writers. Whensoever any Complaint has been made of the severity used to Roman Catholicks, it has been always said, that they suffered not for Religion, but Treason. And this is a very plain and satisfactory Answer, while those only suffer who do those things, or hold those Tenets which involve Treason in them. But if they who do no such thing, and who renounce all such Tenets, are yet made to suffer in like manner; though they suffer for that which the Law declares to be Treason, it will bear some dispute, whether Law-makers may not miscall things. However, it shews the general sense of the Church and State of *England*; I mean, for what concerns the design or intention of those Penal Laws.

Justitia *Britannica* 8°. *Lond.* 1584. and K. *James* works. p. 252. & 336. and K. *Charles* I. vol. 1. p. 384.

And here by the way it may be observed how very different our dealing with the Roman-Catholicks

licks is from their dealing with Proteſtants in Q. *Mary*'s days. That then all profeſt Proteſtants were handled ſeverely, and that many of them were put to death, I think none will deny. But to avoid the *Odium* of this, ſome of that Communion in our Age would perſuade us that their ſuffering was not upon the Account of Religion. And, to colour this Evaſion, they endeavour to ſhow that *Cranmer*, and two or three more, had deſerved death for Treaſon; which is more than they are able to prove. But admit this were true, that theſe men had deſerved it; yet they did not ſuffer death for Treaſon, but Religion, as they would have it believed that made them dye. For they declared this throughout the whole courſe of their Criminal Proceedings. And it concerned them ſo to do. For, otherwiſe, by the Laws then in force, they had murthered as many as they burnt; there being no Law to Burn men for Treaſon, but for Hereſie. And ſo far they were from uſing any Moderation, that they rather extended the Letter of the Law: by inflicting it on many poor Creatures, who had nothing to provoke any Jealouſie againſt them; but enough to move pity, if there had been any, in their Adverſaries. It has been the glory of our Church, that we have not been like them in this: nor can be, without altering the Deſign of them that made all our Laws againſt Popery.

The intention of our Laws appearing ſo manifeſtly, as I conceive, againſt Papiſts only, and not againſt any other Roman Catholicks; it ſeems not reaſonable that any other but Papiſts ſhould ſuffer by the Letter of thoſe Laws. For it is a Maxim, That

not

not the bare Letter of any one or more Clauſe or Clauſes, but the Intention of the whole Law is the Life and Soul of it. I mean, it is that which gives ſignification to words, & wch ought (where it is evident) to interpret the Law. It is alſo a Maxim, That all Penal Laws ſhould be interpreted favourably; and therefore more ſhould not be made Criminals, nor ſhould any Criminal ſuffer more by any Law, than was meant by the Legiſlator. Now 'tis commonly ſaid, there are very many Roman Catholicks (I hope the far greater number of them in *England*) who maintain no Principles or Opinions, which deſtroy the Fundamentals of Government, or diſturb the peace of the Kingdom; nor hold any of thoſe Opinions which are eſſential to Popery, namely, which aſſert any undue Authority in the Pope, or (as it is expreſt in the Statute) which *withdraw Subjects from their natural Obedience, or move them to promiſe Obedience to the pretended Authority of the See of* Rome. There are many of that Communion, who profeſs that they hate & deteſt all ſuch Doctrines. And therefore to indifferent Judges, how can it but ſeem very hard to extend the ſeverity of the Letter of our Penal Laws, againſt the Legiſlators intention, to all Roman Catholicks univerſally and indiſtinctly, without any exception in favour of thoſe many that hold no ſuch Opinions, and that are in all reſpects truly Loyal and peaceable? Surely the puniſhment cannot ſeem juſt or equitable, which has not the Law for it; and that has not the Law for it, which is againſt the intention of the Legiſlator.

Next I ſay, with ſubmiſſion, that granting the intention of the Statute-Laws of our Land, and of the

the Legiſlators by whom they were made, to have been againſt all Roman Catholicks indiſtinctly, and not only againſt the mere Papalins; yet according to the Eternal Law of Reaſon, and ancient practice of Chriſtianity, it may ſeem in ſuch caſe, than an undiſtinguiſhing execution of the Laws, would neither be juſt nor equitable.

For firſt, it ſeems very unreaſonable, to go about to force men to change their judgments in any thing, that hurts none but themſelves, and eſpecially in ſo weighty a matter as is that of Religion. It is confeſs'd, that the Religion of Roman Catholicks, differs very much from that which is eſtabliſhed by Law; and I am much to blame, if I know not it is Erroneous in thoſe points in which it differs. For which Reaſon, I doubt not, they ought to be reſtrain'd from publick exerciſe of it, and (as far as it is poſſible) from hurting others by the Propagation of their Errours. I alſo grant, that by ſome kind of Puniſhment, leſs than death or ruine, men that err, may and ought to be awaken'd and ſtirr'd up to ſeek better Information, and to attend to the means of it, that they may be reclaim'd from their Errours. I alſo grant, that it belongs to the Legiſlative Power to define, how far, and by what means all this ſhould be done; without which, I ſee no way to preſerve eſtabliſhed Truth, or to ſuppreſs Hereſie in any Kingdom.

But all the puniſhment that is neceſſary for this purpoſe, may be inflicted without any force upon Conſcience; as I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew toward the end of this Paper. Much leſs is that any force upon Conſcence, when men are puniſh'd for

for Treaſon, or for treaſonable Principles. For thoſe Principles are Treaſon in Bullion, and will be coyn'd out, whenſoever the Pope pleaſes to ſet the Mint going; and that he will do, whenſoever he thinks it time to pay off any King that does not pleaſe him. But I cannot ſay ſo, when men that have no ſuch Principles, are puniſh'd as if they had; and are either put to death, or made unable to live, unleſs they will part with thoſe things in their Religion which are purely and ſimply erroneous, and which have no ill influence upon the State any otherwiſe than as it is inconvenient to have different Religions in being together in the Kingdom. This Severity is truly a force upon Conſcience. And 'tis very unreaſonable beſides, that the ſimply erroneous ſhould be made to feel the weight of that puuiſhment, than which no greater could be inflicted by Law, if their Errours were heightned and envenom'd with all the Malignity of that which we call properly Popery.

'Tis alſo againſt the ancient practice of Chriſtianity. For the Chriſtians, when they came to have power in their hands, did not puniſh either Pagans or Jews, with either Sanguinary or Mulctative Laws; nor (for ought that appears) thought it reaſonable for them ſo to do. I confeſs they did after a while puniſh *Donatiſts* with pecuniary penalties, and kept both them and all the reſt under divers incapacities; and the ſame reaſon they had for ſo doing, is enough to induce the Church and State of *England* to deal as they do now with Diſſenters, and eſpecially with Roman Catholicks, in keeping them under incapacitating Laws.

If it be objected, that those who were so favourably dealt with in those first Christian times, did not communicate with any that were dangerous to the State, as those do who pretend to the like favour amongst us; and that while they communicate with men of disloyal Principles, it may be thought not unfit to involve them in the same punishment that is due to men of those Principles: It will be answer'd, that they do not communicate with them in any disloyal Doctrine or Practice, and therefore they ought not to be joyn'd with them in the punishment of those Doctrines or Practices. God forbid, that Innocents should be handled as Nocents, for being of the same Communion with them. We should think it very hard and unreasonable, that honest men and good Protestants, who communicate in the Church and Worship of God with such as prove to be Traytors or Felons, must therefore partake with them in suffering for their misdeeds.

If it be farther objected, that among the Roman Catholicks, there are many who are faln off from the Church of *England*, and that such men, at least, deserve punishment for their Apostacy, and much more the Priests or others that wheedled them away: I cannot deny, that in this case we have a just provocation to Severity. And we have an example before us in the Roman Church, which if we should follow, it would go hard with such persons. They which turn from them to us, find no mercy in those Popish Countries where the Inquisition is setled, nor much favour in any other. But we are not bound to follow those examples.

And

And therefore ſetting them aſide, and conſidering things without Provocation, I muſt needs ſay, that the ſimplicity of moſt of their Converts, ſeems to me to deſerve rather pity, than any hard puniſhment. They are generally ſuch as underſtood not their own Religion, before they ſuffer'd themſelves to be fool'd out of it. Otherwiſe, if they are learned and knowing men, who thus leave our Communion, which I think rarely happens, and ſpecially if they are Converts to downright Popery; it cannot but argue, that ſuch perſons are vehemently lead by their affections, and therefore they may be juſtly ſuſpected of ill deſign, and of forming to themſelves ſome intereſt againſt the Laws. And if that be true, it cannot be deny'd, that they deſerve to ſuffer all that the Laws have ordain'd for ſuch perſons. Yet if men of knowledge and parts, though they have deſerted our Church, can content themſelves to be Strangers, and not Enemies; and will prove it, by declaring againſt all the Popes Uſurpations, which will be a certain bar to their preferment, and therefore may be a good proof of their ſincerity; in this caſe, I do not ſee but we may live quietly with them, and perhaps the more ſafely by their means. What Laws are now in force againſt them that ſhall be reconcil'd, or that ſhall reconcile others, to the Church of *Rome*, were intended to keep men from being poyſon'd with Popery; againſt which thoſe Laws were ſevere enough, and yet not more than there was cauſe. And yet according to the wording of thoſe Laws, he is equally to ſuffer the penalty of them, that draws others,

or that is drawn himſelf, into the Roman Communion, though not into Popery, as we have defin'd it. I do not know, that thoſe penalties have been inflicted on any one Offender theſe many years; nor has it been conſidered, what the Principles were, either of them that were ſeduced, or of them that ſeduced them; and 'twere hard, that the impunity of them who have directly tranſgreſs'd the intent of thoſe Laws, ſhould be a ſnare to them that have only tranſgreſs'd the letter of them. Therefore, I humbly conceive, that whatſoever Retroſpection is made, it ought to be with ſome kind of Diſcrimination. And it were to be wiſh'd for the future, that the old Laws may be put in ure againſt them that ſeduce others, or are ſeduced into Popery; and that ſome gentler Laws may be made againſt them that ſhall enter into that Communion, though they do acquit themſelves of thoſe dangerous Principles. But how this may be done, I humbly leave to the wiſdom of the State to conſider.

The third Reaſon which I mention'd againſt an undiſtinguiſhing Severity, was this, That it would be againſt the intereſt of the Church and State of *England*. Both thoſe great Intereſts are united together in the preſervation of the Monarchy. For Monarchy is eſſential to the State, as is viſible in the Conſtitution of it. And for the Church of *England*, as ſhe is the beſt ſupport of the Monarchy, ſo ſhe is ſupported by it, and muſt either fall with it, or be brought into a very low condition; as we have ſeen by the experience of late years. Now of all ſorts and parties among us,

that

that diſſent from the Church of *England*, there is none but has Principles which ſeem to look ill upon Monarchy; nor is there any that has not explain'd the meaning of them by their practices, at one time or other within our memory. To ſpecifie this in Inſtances of all, would be needleſs; for I know no ſort of Diſſenters that go about to juſtifie themſelves wholly in this matter, except only Roman Catholicks. Among them, ſome late Writers would bear us down, that they are, and have been always, faithful to the Monarchy. It were better ſaid by others of that Church, than by ſome of them that have written this. But the truth is, they are a mixt Communion, whereof the governing part of the Clergy are thorough-Papiſts; and therefore neither they, nor any of their Faction can be right Friends to ſuch a Monarchy as we ſpeak of, whatſoever they pretend. Many of the inferior Clergy, and of the Laiety of that Communion are no Papiſts; as I have ſhewn in this Paper, and they have ſhewn it themſelves, in adhering to Monarchy againſt the Pope himſelf.

Of both theſe ſorts of Roman Catholicks, we have lately ſeen the tryal in *Ireland*; where for ſome years they agreed in nothing, but that ſome times they went to Church together. Their Biſhops, and the reſt of the chief of their Clergy, were indeed the Pope's Creatures and Subjects. For they had ſworn Allegiance to him, and received a Right from him, as well to the Temporalties, as to the Spiritualties of their titular Preferments. What the Pope's meaning was in pre-

ferring them, we may gueſs by what follow'd. For as ſoon as they ſaw an opportunity for it, they formed a Rebellion in that Kingdom againſt the King. And when the Pope ſent his Nuncio to head it, they joyn'd with him, and drove the King's Lieutenant out of the Kingdom. Which accurſed Rebellion of theirs, loſt the King, not only that Kingdom, but the other two Kingdoms, and his life in the end. And yet they of that Faction in *Ireland*, are ſo far from acknowledging that they did any ill in all this, that within theſe ten years, the General-Aſſembly * of the Clergy of that Nation, in plain terms, refus'd to ask His Majeſties pardon for any thing that had been done in the late War by any of the Clergy of that Kingdom. This was a ſufficient Demonſtration of the Prevalence of thoſe Popiſh Principles among them, and of the ill Influence they have upon Monarchy. Yet there was even then as plain a Demonſtration of better Principles in others of that Communion. For ſome there were, though much fewer in number, who kept their Allegiance to the King throughout that whole Rebellion, and fought for him againſt the Pope himſelf, in the perſon of his Nuncio; and having one while got a great part of the Laity to joyn with them, they prevail'd ſo far as to drive him out of the Kingdom. But they, and all the reſt that ſerv'd the King in that Nation, were excommunicated for it by the Nuncio and his Clergy in *Ireland*; And that Sentence being judicially ratified at *Rome*, I am aſſured that many of them do continue under it to this day.

*1666 *Jun.* 11. V. Hiſt. of Iriſh Remonſtrance, *part* 2. *page* 671.

In

In *England* it is to be obſerv'd in all our Hiſtories, That, even in Popiſh times, there were thoſe that ſtood up for the Rights of the Crown againſt the Pope's Uſurpations; and that they which did ſo, were the generality of the People of this Nation. How elſe came thoſe Laws of *Proviſors*, &c. to paſs in Parliament, though the Spiritual Lords oppos'd them with all their might, and proteſted againſt them, as oft as ſuch Laws came before them? How came King *Henry* VIII to paſs his Law againſt the Papal Supremacy? which in effect contain'd no more than thoſe former Laws did: And yet the Biſhops at that time, not only voted for it, but ſet their hands to a Book that was writ in defence of it; and ſome of the moſt Learned among them, writ beſides on that ſubject as good Diſcourſes as were written in that Age. And how came the whole Kingdom to ſtand by him (as they did, both before and after the Diſſolution of Monaſteries) againſt the Pope's Bull of * Excommunication and Deprivation? which Bull, I conceive was that which firſt made the Schiſm. Though this Breach was made up again by Queen *Mary*, who reſtor'd the Pope's Authority, to ſtrengthen her own Right to the Crown, which otherwiſe had hung by the ſingle thred of an Act of Parliament; yet by what paſs'd before, it ſufficiently appears to have been the judgment of our Forefathers in former Ages, that Popery is no part of the Catholick Doctrine. That it has more obtain'd ſince, and that the number of Papiſts has increas'd among the Engliſh of that Communion, I partly aſcribe to the great offence which was

* Dated 1535. Aug. 30.

taken a

taken at first here in *England* against the Reformation. The Horse is said to have first taken up Man upon his back, to hunt down his Enemy. And for the same end, I conceive, the Roman Catholicks suffer'd the Pope to saddle them in Queen *Mary*'s days. They could not have gratified him more, than by letting him ride and hunt together; both which he loves dearly. Soon after, the Pope having by his Council of *Trent*, made Articles of Faith of their controverted Opinions, it could not but oblige them to look kindly on all that he did for himself in that Council. After which, 'tis no wonder that Queen *Elizabeth* found the World so much alter'd since her Father's time. I think 'tis observable, that when He was curs'd and bann'd by the Pope, as She afterwards was, yet he had not one attempt made against his life. Some Rebellions he had against him, but those not so much in the Pope's quarrel, as in the Common People's, who were enrag'd at him for dissolving the Monasteries. But Queen *Elizabeth*, who had little to do of that kind, and who generally pleas'd the People otherwise, and was therefore not so liable to be shockt with Rebellions; yet for all that, when the Pope mark'd her out for destruction, some or other of her Subjects were continually driving practices to take away her life. I mention this as a great Instance of the growth of Popery among the People of that Communion. And yet no doubt she knew those among them that were no Papists; or else she would not have made visits to them, as she did in the most dangerous times; nor have protected their Priests, without sufficient assurance of their Loyalty.

Camden. Eliz. an. 1592.

Yet

Yet ſhe had not that way of aſſurance which K. *James* found out afterwards, and which the Pope himſelf help'd to make the more ſatisfactory. For when (as I have ſaid) upon occaſion of the *Gunpowder Treaſon*, K. *James* requir'd the Oath of Allegiance to be taken by all his Subjects; and Pope *Paul* V. requir'd all his Subjects to refuſe it: It was eaſie from thenceforward, among the Roman Catholicks, to know which were the Pope's, and which were the King's Subjects; for each of them would do the will of their Lord, and what they did they maintain'd on both ſides. I think there needs no better defence for the Rights of the Crown againſt the Pope and his Faction, than has been made by one of their Prieſts, namely, * *Preſton*, in his Books for the Oath of Allegiance. *Ibid. an.* 1602. *pag.* 276.

* He writ his Books in the name of *Widdrington*.

Now this being the only Teſt appointed by Law, and this being already taken by many Roman Catholicks, who profeſs themſelves ready to take any other that the State ſhall preſcribe, for the ſecuring it ſelf againſt Popery; I conceive that ſuch perſons being taken off by this means from all dependance of the Pope, ought in reaſon to be accounted good Subjects. For if their Principles be ſuch as they ſwear they are, as well their Principles, as their Oath, will make them firm to the Monarchy. And nothing can be imagin'd to make them againſt it, or to looſen them from it, but the Pope's Diſpenſation, againſt which they ſecure us as the Law directs them to do. For they both ſwear expreſly, that they will not take any ſuch Diſpenſation, and that they believe the Pope has

no

no power to give it. I do not ſay, but while they continue in that Communion, they are continually liable to be tempted and drawn from theſe Principles: And I know no way the State has to help it, but by making them often renew their Security; as I ſhall humbly propoſe in due place. But while they keep to their Principles; which in relation to Monarchy, are the ſame that the Church of *England* holds; though ſhe ought to deſire their Converſion, and to ſeek it by all lawful means, yet I ſee not why ſhe ſhould deſire to have them driven away, or diſabled from aſſiſting her in defence of the Monarchy. Now there is nothing more plain, than that this party of Roman Catholicks muſt be utterly diſabled and deſtroy'd by an undiſtinguiſhing execution of the Laws. For if they have no favour at home, they are ſure to find worſe abroad. There they muſt learn to hate their own Country, by ſuffering for having loved it too well. When they have ſpent what they can carry over with them, they muſt want, and may periſh ere they find relief. While their zealous Antagoniſts, the true Sons of the Pope, are received with all kindneſs whereſoever they come; and when they have weathered out the ſtorm, they are ſure to be ſent back with full pockets, and freſh ſupplies, and ſuch Inſtructions as may fit the change of times. Then we ſhall, if it ſhould happen, which God forbid, ſee the fruit of an undiſtinguiſhing Severity. We ſhall ſee the deſtruction of a conſiderable number of men, that were friends to the Government, and that would have been uſeful at ſuch a time.

Or

Or we ſhall ſee them return with other Principles, and become Enemies to the Government, which uſed them as Enemies, and wholly joyn'd in affection to them that fed them in their exile. In few words, we ſhall ſee the Popiſh Faction (truly ſo called) return with more hope to do miſchief, and with more power to do it, than ever they had before. They could never yet make all of their Communion to joyn with them in any deſign againſt the Government. But then undoubtedly they will, if there be not a ſufficient number left of the other ſide to oppoſe them.

The Pope and his party are againſt the diſtinguiſhing of Roman Catholicks.

They at *Rome* are thought to underſtand their own Intereſt well. And there is reaſon they ſhould; for it is the Study of that place. And I ſuppoſe, 'tis not in favour to the Church or State of *England*, but for the intereſt of *Rome*, that they are very well pleas'd with an undiſtinguiſhing execution of the Penal Laws in *England* againſt the Roman Catholicks; and are ſo far from deſiring to have it otherwiſe, that they hate and deteſt all diſtinction, and declare him their Enemy that deſires it. This might be proved by more inſtances than are proper for this place. But I ſhall give one or two that are ſufficient.

* Pref. of his Book againſt *Fitz Herbert* the Jeſuite.

And firſt of former days: *Widdrington*, *a Prieſt of the Roman Communion, gives this following Relation: 'That Q. *Elizabeth* having diſcovered, 'that ſhe was minded to ſhew favour to as many 'Roman Catholick Prieſts, as ſhould give her aſſu-'rance of their Loyalty, and to exempt them 'from ſuffering the penalties of her Laws; ſome 'well-meaning men went to *Rome* to carry the

'good news, as they thought it. But when they 'were come thither, they found themſelves much 'miſtaken. Inſtead of thanks, they were reproach'd 'by the governing party, and branded with the 'name of Schiſmaticks, Spies, and Rebels to the 'See Apoſtolic. And moreover (ſaith our Author) 'there *was one of that party* (* F. F.) *compiled a 'Treatiſe in Italian, to adviſe his Holineſs, That it 'was not good nor profitable to the Catholick Cauſe, 'that any liberty or toleration ſhould be granted by 'the State of* England *to Catholicks.*

* Father Fitz Herbert.

Secondly, what their judgment is at preſent concerning this matter, I know not who can inform us better than the Pope's Nuncio's. He that now is, or lately was at *Bruſſels*, *Falconieri*, the Internuncio of *Burgundy* and the Low-Countries, I ſuppoſe has a power given him over our Roman Catholicks; for his immediate Predeceſſor *Airoldi* had it, and came over hither in hope to eſtabliſh his Juriſdiction in *England*. This *Falconieri* was inform'd, while the Parliament were yet ſitting, in *March* was twelve month, that divers Roman Catholick Peers had taken the Oath of Allegiance; which provoked him ſo far, that he laſh'd out theſe words, *It were better there were not a Catholick left in* England, *than that they ſhould take that Oath to free themſelves from Perſecution.* This Relation I had from one of that Communion, whom I have very much reaſon to credit. And yet, if any one doubts of his Teſtimony, he may ſee as much written by a Nuncio himſelf, who was alſo this man's Predeceſſor. I think his words go ſomething beyond thoſe of *Falconieri*, unleſs they like the

the Oath of Allegiance better than the Iriſh Remonſtrance; which whoſoever compares them, will judge they cannot well do, according to their Principles. And yet of that Remonſtrance it was, that the former Nuncio *Vecchii* gave his judgment in theſe words, *It may do more hurt and miſchief to the Church of God* (*viz.* to the Popiſh Faction in it) *than any Perſecution that ever was from the Hereticks.* I doubt not, the late Pope's Nuncio, that waged war in *Ireland* againſt our late King, if he had lived to theſe times, would have been of the ſame mind. He would have endeavoured to keep his party together, and not let them be ſeparated by a Teſt. He would have told them, they were as good have ask'd Pardon for what they had done, as Promiſed to do ſo no more; which promiſe in fewer words was the effect of that Remonſtrance. By theſe Indications, we may gueſs at that which might otherwiſe have been a myſtery to us, namely, why ſo many Leading-men of that Communion in *England*, who refuſe to take the Oath of Allegiance, are ſo much againſt the framing of any other Teſt. It might ſeem very ſtrange, that they who are ſo loud, above all others, in crying out of Perſecution, are yet ſo extremely averſe from doing that which is the only ſure way to avoid it; namely, from giving publick Security to the State. But their meaning is plain. They would not have Popery garbled out of their Religion; nor thoſe Principles forſworn, that may be uſeful when time ſerves. If 'twere known who are the Pope's, and who are the King's Subjects, it were to be feared the Pope's would be left ſingle;

Hiſt. of the Iriſh Remonſ. *Part* 1. *p.* 515.

and that they themſelves would be found to be of that number. I cannot blame them, that they had much rather keep themſelves in the Herd; and therefore perſwade all men of their Church, rather to run the hazard of a general undiſtinguiſhing Perſecution, than to ſubmit to ſuch a Teſt, as may enable the State to know its Enemies.

Two ways uſeful to the Pope's deſign againſt *England*.

It is plain, that He whom they ſerve, may deſpair of arriving at his ends upon *England*, any otherwiſe than by one of theſe two ways; *viz.* Either by an undiſtinguiſhing execution of the Laws againſt all Roman Catholicks in general; or by an undiſtinguiſhing *Toleration* to them all; and for their ſakes, to all other Diſſenters whatſoever.

By the former way, Popery, (properly ſo called) would be kept from appearing in the Light, which it does not love. It would paſs undiſcovered, in the Croud, among Principles of Religion. And the people, by little and little, would come to be perſwaded, that they ought to ſuffer as much for their Obedience to the Pope, as for their belief in God. Than which there is no one thing that our *Hildebrandiſts* drive at with more zeal; and no doubt the Pope would buy it with all his heart, at the hazard of leaving not one Roman Catholick in *England*. Though the hazard would not be ſo great to them, that ſhould be his prime Agents in this buſineſs. For they would be ſure to keep themſelves out of harms way. And all the danger ſhould light on Bigots, and ſuch hot-headed men; who, though living, they

1. An undiſtinguiſhing execution of the Laws againſt Popery.

are

are worth nothing; yet, when they dye, leave Treaſures to the Church. For they muſt preſently be cryed up for Martyrs. And then, What can be ſaid enough to the glory of the Apoſtles that ſent them forth, and of the Apoſtolick See, and of Chriſt's Vicar that ſits in it? Happy men, that are ſure to have their Bodies work Miracles, whereſoever their Souls be! And Bleſſed Cauſe for which ſuch Men did not ſtick to ſacrifice their lives!

If there happens a Leading-man, a *Garnet* to be taken among them, there is a loſs indeed, for which perhaps the *ſtraw* makes not a ſufficient recompence. Yet this loſs falls on Perſons only, and not on the Cauſe. The Tenets, which do all the miſchief, not only eſcape, but gain ground. If they were not *de Fide* before, now they are, being ſeal'd with the blood of Martyrs, and atteſted with Miracles. And this Faith is not like to want Preachers worthy of it ſelf. For there will be always men enough left of the worſe ſort: The moſt ſubtle and dangerous, will ſave themſelves one way or other. They'll be ſure to get out of the way, till they ſee their own time to ſhew themſelves; And then they will appear the more Venerable to the party, as being the Brethren and Succeſſors of them that died for their Religion.

II. Toleration. By the other way of undiſtinguiſhing Toleration, they would have divers advantages, more than I ſhall mention in this place. For it is not my buſineſs here to write againſt Toleration, but rather againſt an undiſtinguiſhing of Laws. But that

that I may not ſeem by this means, to deſire to perſwade a Toleration, which I take to be much worſe than the other, I ſhall ſhew the danger of it in theſe following particulars:

Toleration is a way to deſtroy the eſtabliſh'd Religion.

For firſt, they look upon Toleration as a ſure way to deſtroy the eſtabliſh'd Religion. And therefore in all Countries where Popery is eſtabliſh'd, they are ſo far from admitting any Toleration, that they look upon him that ſpeaks for it as their Enemy, and count none their ſure Friends, but them that ſet up the Inquiſition. By which alſo here in *England*, if *England* were theirs, they would make a ſhort work with all thoſe other Diſſenters, whom now they ſeem to look upon with compaſſion, and to plead againſt Perſecution, and wiſh Liberty of Conſcience, for their ſakes. They would not have the Thorn be diſturb'd, while it is in their Enemies ſides; but if it were out, they would burn it, for fear it ſhould be a Thorn in their own.

Toleration would weaken the Civil Government.

Another uſe of Toleration among us, would be to weaken the Government; as needs it muſt, if the ſtrength of the Government conſiſts in the hearts of the Subjects. A moſt unjuſt and wickedly manag'd jealouſie of our late bleſſed King's inclination to Popery, firſt loſt him the hearts of his People. Which jealouſie being confirm'd, by his granting (as it was ſaid) a Toleration of Popery in *Ireland*, they grew wild upon it, and would never come at him more. Or if they would, it was too late, when his Enemies had gotten him in their hands. I think 'tis viſible now, that as well as all parties among us love Liberty,

berty, there is none of them wiſh it to Roman Catholicks; unleſs it be with deſign to blow up the like jealouſie again. God forbid there ſhould be any ſuch deſign now on foot. But if there be, they that drive it, are not altogether Fools. They have reaſon to think, that if the Government were away, they might be able to make their party good againſt the Roman Catholicks. Nor can our Papiſts be ſuch fools, to imagine, that they alone can make head againſt the other Diſſenters. It is poſſible they may hope, that if it ſhould come to that, the men of our Church would joyn with them. But that will never be, unleſs they get the Government of their ſide. Which they very ill deſerve, if they ask a Toleration, before they have converted, at leaſt, half the Kingdom. And this they would conſider, if it were any part of their care to preſerve the Government of the Nation. But there is but one Government in the World, for which thorough-Papiſts are concern'd. All the reſt are to be brought under this; and thoſe that will not bend to it, muſt be broken. It matters not into what Form they are reduced, whether of Kingdom, or Free-States, or Common-wealth. Much leſs are thoſe of *Hildebrand*'s Sect concern'd for this or that Family. A *Cromwel* would have ſerv'd their turn (when time was) as well as a *Stuart*. For, I ſuppoſe they that courted him to be the *Reſtorer of the Catholick Religion*, would not have dealt ſo courſly with him, as to turn him out for his pains. But that which makes their teeth ake againſt the preſent Government, is, to ſee it united with

V. Dr. *Baily*'s Life of B. *Fiſher*, about the end of it.

with the Church of *England*. Which Church being likely enough to be deſtroy'd by a Toleration, if the ſame means will embroyl the Kingdom too, they will like it never the worſe. The old Fiſherman whom they ſerve, fiſhes beſt in troubled waters. He never made ſuch a draught here in *England*, as he did in the late times of Confuſion. And then alſo in *Ireland*, he had almoſt a whole Kingdom in his Net; though for want of ſtrength, he could not draw it aſhore.

A Toleration would increaſe the number of Papiſts.

But in caſe a Toleration ſhould not have that moſt deſirable effect, of blowing up a Civil War, nor any other way weaken the Government (which to me ſeems impoſſible;) yet at leaſt there would be hope, that it might ſome way ſtrengthen the party. If they could but have the face, which they ſeldom want, and that colour withal, which this would give them, to ſay, that this Liberty was granted in favour to Popery, and that this favour was an earneſt of more, and that now all would be theirs very ſpeedily, no doubt many would believe them. And not a few by the power of this belief, would be drawn to joyn with them; and to be the more welcome, would preſent them, as well with their Loyalty as with their Religion.

It would alſo be a means to wear off the ſtrangeneſs between them and the other Sects. For, thoſe who were content to enjoy Toleration with them, though with deſign to try it out, who ſhould be Maſters at laſt, when they had trod down the Church of *England* between them; yet would have

have ſome converſation with them the mean while. And I ſuppoſe, a cunning Jeſuite would be able now and then to convince a ſimple Sectary. Howſoever that might ſucceed; they would be united together, in one common Intereſt, though with different deſigns. They would both be concern'd to keep up the Toleration. They would engage together againſt the Enemies of it. And there inſenſibly grows a kindneſs between men that ſail in the ſame ſhip together, though they are bound for different Ports.

But although this good effect may be procur'd by a general ſuſpenſion, or rather a Repeal of the Penal Laws; yet if that cannot be had, the ſame will follow in ſome meaſure upon an undiſtinguiſhing execution of them. And therefore, if there be no remedy but that they muſt be executed, it is the intereſt of the Popiſh Faction, to have them felt by as many as is poſſible. Perhaps it were for their turn to have them fear'd rather than felt. For the ſmart of the Rod would cure many of their diſtempers, that are enrag'd by having it ſhaken over them. But either the threatning of the Law, or a light execution of it, being extended to all, would ſuffice to do their buſineſs. And if that Severity, which were a means to cure many, would exaſperate all the reſt, I conceive that would do it much better. For all other Diſſenters being brought under the Laſh as well as Roman Catholicks, no doubt would be as much diſſatisfied with the Government and Laws. They would joyn with them in aſperſing the State with injuſtice and cruelty. They would add to

their noiſe, by crying out of Perſecution for Conſcience. And all men loving naturally to be pitied, they that ſtudy popular Arts, can eaſily find how to take men by this handle, and to draw them nearer themſelves, and to make a miſchievous uſe of them. I know I do not teach them, by ſaying, that ſuch Accidents may ariſe, in which 'twere very poſſible for the Jeſuites to make ſuch a conjunction with ſome of our Fanaticks, as might create no ſmall trouble and danger to Church and State.

But if other Diſſenters are not yet angry enough with the Government, or if they know the Jeſuits ſo well that they will not deal with them, or if they will give nothing for the priviledge of being eaten laſt (for any of theſe things may very well happen) then theſe Gentlemen have none left to work upon but Roman Catholicks. And of them they have all reaſon to be ſecure, unleſs they are very loyally principled. The only way to work on ſuch, is, by drawing them off from their Principles. And that they may hope to do, when they find them uneaſie, and out of humour. As it cannot be expected but they will be, if they are made to ſuffer the Severity of the Laws. They that have been faithful to the Government, and know themſelves to intend no other, and are ready to give any proof of it; yet to ſee themſelves ruin'd by the Government, or to be kept in continual fear of it, muſt needs be diſcompos'd, and think themſelves very hardly dealt with. Then, if a Jeſuite ſtep in, and endeavour to convince him, that all their ſuffering

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ing is for Religion; and not for treasonable Principles; if he instance in that Loyal Person himself, and bids him *judge by his own experience, he cannot but feel himself suffer; he knows himself free from disloyalty, therefore his suffering can be for nothing else but his Religion:* He must be a man of more than ordinary Abstraction, that can discern the fallacy of this reasoning. And he that cannot find that, had need stop his ears, with a resolution to hear nothing against the Government, or else the Jesuite will be too hard for him. He had need be as resolute in his Loyalty, as in his Religion. For the proof being made, as well to his Sense, as to his Reason, it looks like an Argument against *Transubstantiation.* If the person so attack'd be a very *Job* in holding his integrity; if no Argument will move him, nor no other temptation draw him from it: Yet he must yield to Want, which can neither be hid nor resisted. There are many good men that live from hand to mouth, and that hardly enough, while they enjoy their Estates. If any of these be deprived of so much as the Law would take from him, he cannot live with that which he has left. And then if a Pension be offer'd him out of the Jesuites Bank, or out of the Pope's Coffers, he will scarce know how to refuse it. Necessity will make a generous man do that, which he would hate to think of in better circumstances. And having eaten their bread, he will find it a hard matter to keep himself disengag'd from their Interests. Much more, if he suffer himself once to be engag'd, he will find it impossible to untwist himself afterwards.

wards. And 'tis next to impoſſible, for him that has been oblig'd by their benefits, and as it were, liſted in Service, and taken pay on the Enemies ſide, to have any kindneſs left for his Country, that drove him to all this. I know but one inſtance, that of *David* in *Gath*, of a man that was put to all theſe ſtreights, and yet not corrupted in his Principles.

I ſhew but one way of many, how men that are very good Subjects, and deſire nothing more than to continue ſo, may be ſpoil'd with hard uſage, and made Enemies againſt their Inclinations. Which, being added to thoſe things ſaid before on this head, may be more than enough to make good my third Reaſon, againſt an undiſtinguiſhing execution of the Laws on Roman Catholicks; as being againſt the intereſt of the Church and State of *England*.

And this ſeems ſo evident to me, that I have no manner of doubt, that as the beſt news we could ſend to *Rome*, would be of a general Toleration of all Religions and Sects whatſoever; ſo, next to that (which I know would pleaſe them beſt) the moſt welcome news would be, to aſſure them, that all the Laws here in *England* againſt Roman Catholicks, were ſeverely and indifferently put in execution. And I am as ſure, that nothing would trouble them more, than to hear of ſuch a Diſcrimination or Diſtinction of Roman Catholicks, as I come now to propound.

The true way to ſuppreſs Popery, is by Severity to Papiſts, and Clemency to other Roman Catholicks.

For, now to ſpeak on the Affirmative ſide of the Debate, this ſeems to be the only way for ſuppreſſing of Popery, if the State will be pleas'd to

diſtinguiſh

diſtinguiſh btween Papiſts and other Roman Catholicks: and ſo to ſhew favour to the one, upon ſecurity given of their Loyalty; as that the other, who will not give that ſecurity, may have no part of that favour, but be left to the ſeverity of all thoſe Laws that have been, or ſhall be made againſt their Principles and Practices.

My Reaſons are, 1. Becauſe this courſe being taken, would be effectual to the end above-mentioned. 2. It would be equitable in it ſelf. 3. And it would be for the intereſt of the Church and State of *England*. I ſhew'd before, that the undiſtinguiſhing way had not any of thoſe three properties or qualities. Now the way which I propound being contrary to it, muſt have all the three by the Rule of Contraries; and I conceive I need no other proof. But to make the matter more plain, I ſhall reſume theſe three Reaſons, and prove them ſeverally in the order propos'd.

1. This courſe would be Effectual. For it would take away the cauſes of Popery. The only immediate cauſes, which have either propagated or preſerved Popery ſo long in this Kingdom, notwithſtanding all Laws that have been made againſt it, as well anciently as of late times, are chiefly theſe two. On one ſide, the great boldneſs and buſineſs of the truly Popiſh Clergy, in aſſerting and crying up all Papal pretences whatſoever. On the other ſide, the tameneſs of the other Clergy of that Communion, or whatſoever elſe their fault is, and has been, in not oppoſing thoſe Papal pretences. For the former of theſe, I think 'tis very viſible

visible in all the *Jesuites* that come among us, and in most of the other *Regular* Orders, and not a few of the *Seculars*; that their chief business amongst us, is to advance the Pope's Authority in all things, and to reduce all men under the obedience of it. 'Tis true, they have not yet seen their time to attempt this by open War. They have not set up the holy Banner in *England*, and plac'd the Pope's Nuncio in the head of an Army against the King; as their Brethren did in *Ireland*, and do not repent of it. But neither will our Popish Clergy say, that those in *Ireland* did ill in it. They have neither declared their dislike of that Rebellion by any publick act: Nor among all the Books they have writ since the King's Restauration, has any one of their Writers writ so much as one line against it, that ever I could see or hear of. But their Books abound with those principles out of which that Rebellion was hatch'd. They are slily insinuated in those which are to be had at every Stall. And there are those that pass from hand to hand, in which this Treason is the main scope of their writing. By which we may guess what wholesome Doctrine it is that they infuse upon occasion in private, when they are among their own people. What kind of preaching and catechising they use. What information of their Penitents. What ghostly counsel they give; and what loyal directions of Conscience. And if we had nothing else to discover them to us, we may soon find what kind of spiritual Offices they perform, by the Fruit of them, in the perverseness and obstinacy of so many of their Laity, who choose to do or endure any

any thing, rather than take the Oath of Allegiance.

I deny not, that there are other Priests of that Communion, who, as far as we can judge by their private discourse, seem to be rightly principled, and well inclined towards the Civil Government. There are those that seem to be heartily for the Independency of the Crown of *England*; and that hold, that the external Government of the Church ought to be in the King, in such manner as the Laws of the Land do or shall prescribe; and who are firmly perswaded, that the contrary Positions of Popery are as bad as they are declared to be in the Oath of Allegiance. And some of them have declared this very honestly and publickly in their Writings, both heretofore and of late days. I think I should do them no service in naming them. For as things now are, it would only provoke and enable those of the former sort to do them mischief. Which we see, they are prone enough to do, by their traducing them publickly, though Priests of the same Church; and branding them with the Characters of Schism, Heresie, Apostacy, *&c.* and thereby setting the people of their Communion against them. But whereas those honest men of that Communion tell us, that there are many more of their Principles among the Secular Clergy, and also among the Regulars of inferior rank and condition: I cannot but say, that if they are not mistaken, there is a great fault among them on the other hand. Those many good men, of whom they tell us, are much to blame, that they do not declare against the Pope's

Pope's Uſurpation; but rather ſtrengthen it by their ſinful compliance and ſilence. Either they do not think it ſo bad as they pretend; or elſe what Wretches are they to juggle with the Conſciences of their People? How can they anſwer it to God, from whom they pretend to have theſe Souls given them in charge, that they do not warn them of ſo dangerous a ſin, that has ſlain its thouſands and ten thouſands in our ſtreets? Why do they ſuffer ſo great a ſcandal to lye upon their Church, and ſuch a danger to hang over the Civil State, while they that are the Spiritual Watchmen ſee it, and yet hold their peace? Nay, worſe than ſo, the Dog fawns upon the Wolf. Theſe honeſt men, if they may yet be ſo called, hold very good quarter and fellowſhip with thoſe, whom they know to be Zealots for Popery. They make their Court to them, of whom they cannot be ignorant that both their Principles and their Intereſt lead them to it; that is in effect, they are ſo officious to ſtand by and hold the horſes of them that are committing a Robbery; or worſe employ'd, in doing all thoſe evils above-mentioned.

I cannot ſee how they can excuſe this any otherwiſe, than by alledging, That all their Compliance is for fear of being ruin'd, and impriſon'd, and ſtarv'd, as ſome of their Brethren have been, for doing their duty; and more are like to be, if ſome courſe be not taken to protect them againſt the rage of their implacable Enemies.

Not to judge of the ſufficiency of this excuſe, I confeſs there is reaſon for what they ſay. For 'tis viſible what became of thoſe Church-men

of

of their Communion, who have given the higheſt Teſt of their Loyalty, who have ſcorn'd all thoſe ſervile Compliances, and who have declared againſt Popery by their Actions and Writings. 'Tis the eaſier to obſerve this, becauſe there have been ſo few of them, I think not above two or three in an Age. They have been fain to ſtand the mark of a violent endleſs Perſecution, both from the Court of *Rome*, and from all its Faction in *England*. And, however it came to paſs, they did not find that countenance, which they might have expected from the State, in defence of whoſe Rights they drew all that wrath upon themſelves. We have a great example of this in *Preſton*, who having both taken the Oath of *Allegiance* himſelf, and maintain'd it againſt all the great Champions of Popery, was fain to take Sanctuary in the *Clink*, and glad to hide his head there for many years before he died. Another Learned man, Dr. *Barnes*, the famous Author of *Romano-Catholicus Pacificus*, had not leave to chooſe a Priſon to dye in. For he was ſpirited by the Pope's Emiſſaries, and carried away to *Rome*, and thrown into the *Inquiſition* there. What became of him ſince, we ſhall know at the day of Judgment.

If theſe be their ways to maintain, and to propagate Popery, we cannot be to ſeek for our way to ſuppreſs it. For it is manifeſt, that this cannot be more effectually done, than by ſuch a Diſcrimination as has been propounded.

On the one hand it would be a means to preſerve thoſe few men of that Communion among us, who have already declared againſt the *Popes Uſurpations*.

And the ſame courſe that ſhould be taken to keep them out of danger, would alſo be a means to free all other men of their Principles, from the fear under which they have been kept ſo many years.

Whether at this preſent they have more or leſs cauſe to apprehend the Popiſh Faction, they will be the better able to judg, when they ſee what is done in Monſieur *Luzance*'s caſe. For as there is no reaſon to doubt, that thoſe Gentlemen, if they find they may do what they pleaſe, will do no leſs to thoſe of their own Communion, that oppoſe their grand deſign, than they attempted on him that had deſerted their Communion: So, if the State ſhall think fit to check their audacious Inſolence in this caſe, by ſome exemplary puniſhment, though I doubt they will not forſake the Land upon it, yet it is to be hoped, that they will upon ſome other Act of State, to which this may be a very good Introduction. Sure enough, if the Laws were duly executed on all thoſe that will not give ſufficient Security to the State, we ſhould ſoon be rid of all, or moſt part of their Company. And then it would be a time for better men to ſhew themſelves. Thoſe that did give Security, would be obliged in their own defence, if no otherwiſe, to own the Principles by which they were warranted to give it. Beſides, it would be as well their intereſt, as their duty, to diſabuſe that great part of the Laity whom thoſe *Hildebrandiſts* had fed with lies theſe fourſcore years. It would concern them to poſſeſs themſelves as well of their Conſciences, as of their Chappels;

Chappels; and therefore to make them ſee, how vaſt a diſtance there is between that Faith which had been chiefly inculcated into them (I mean, the properly Popiſh Faith) and the Primitive Chriſtian; and to convince them what a curſed Immorality they have been taught all this while, under the name of Obedience to the Church; and to ſhew them, that the way which their former Guides have conſpired to miſcal by the glorious name of Holy Martyrdom, is the down-right way to Hell.

Having thus declar'd that moſt neceſſary Truth, to which both their Intereſt and Conſcience led them; the ſame Reaſons would oblige them to love home, and to ſtudy the Peace of their Country. They would have little buſineſs at *Rome*; and that would be ſo ill done there, that they would not be encourag'd to ſend thither again.

On the other hand, of the Pope's Faction in *England*, if the Laws were ſo executed, as I have ſaid, none could remain here but only Hypocrites and Equivocators. And their ſtay would be very uncomfortable, if they kept ſilence; but worſe, if they diſcovered themſelves, for then they muſt expect to ſuffer the Severity of the Laws. They muſt either hang like bare-fac'd Traytors, without any pretence of the Crown of Martyrdom; or they muſt take it for a favour, that they may have leave to go after their Fellows. And they that are once out of the Kingdom, will have no hope to come in again. To be ſure they ſhall not, if the Prieſts of their own Church can keep them out, or can diſcover them lurking in it. Nor, I

ſuppoſe, will any of the Laity be very forward to harbour them. We have no reaſon to think, that any man ſhould be ſo unreaſonable, to venture neck or purſe, for the Reception of them for whom his Soul is not concern'd, when he might without danger, or any apprehenſion of it, enjoy the exerciſe of his Religion; when he might have all the Offices of it performed by other Prieſts, as Canonical in their Miſſion, and as exemplary in their lives; men free from exception every way, ſave that they have no tincture of *Hildebrand*'s Doctrine. If that be it that makes them ſo in love with a Jeſuite, that nothing ſeems ſacred that comes out of any other hand, the State has juſt cauſe to ſuſpect from whence that niceneſs proceeds, and to treat them as thoſe that hold correſpondence with its Enemies. Nor can they in this caſe have any colour to pretend, that they ſuffer for their Religion, who might have enjoy'd their Religion, without mingling it with that Treaſon for which they ſuffer. And however the matter may be thought of by Him at *Rome*, whoſe judgment we ought not to value in this caſe, I believe no Foreign Prince will think this a Perſecution of Roman-Catholicks. *France* thought it none, when time was, to baniſh the Jeſuites. Nor *Venice* to turn out three Orders together, which were all that ſubmitted to the Pope's Interdict and Excommunication. There is no reaſon to doubt, that any other State of that Communion would have done the like, upon as great an occaſion. So that if any of thoſe States ſhould interpoſe in favour of thoſe againſt whom the

State

State of *England* has ſo juſt an exception, it might ſeem as if they did not ſo much deſire to have them taken in here, as to rid their own Country of ſuch Vermin, as they would not be willing to harbour. They have reaſon to apprehend, that thoſe that we ſend over to them, would teach their own people to do like them, and put the Authority there to the trouble of doing the ſame thing that ours have done here, and which themſelves have been fain to do in former times.

I ſay not but any Prince that were in hoſtility, or that thought himſelf likely ere long to break with *England*, might be ready to receive this ſort of men, as he would do other Spies and Traytors to their Country. There were very great Reaſon, that a Prince in thoſe circumſtances ſhould conſider theſe men, as being moſt compleatly qualified for all ſuch purpoſes. And becauſe the Pope is a ſure Enemy to all them that are for the ſuppreſſing of Popery, I doubt not, they would find him ready to mingle his quarrels with theirs, and his Inſtruments would work much the better, when they received their impulſe from his hand. But all this would laſt no longer than until thoſe Princes thought it their beſt way to be at peace with us. And that would ſoon be, if we were at Unity among our ſelves: As we ſhould be, if none were ſuffered to live among us, but ſuch as might live in an eaſie, or very tolerable condition. Then thoſe Princes would ſoon eaſe themſelves of the burthen, and give the Pope leave to find ſome other way to keep his Vermin. Which aftet a while, he would do with

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ſuch Italian Frugality, that if their Rents were ſtop'd here in *England*, they would ſoon look as thin as *Fauxes* Lanthorn; or to deſcribe them to the life, they would be like *Envy* in the Poet.

I need not trouble the Reader, with minding him, That in caſe of ſuch a Diſcrimination, there could be no danger of the increaſe either of Prieſts or Seminaries abroad, and as little danger of any Commiſeration or Pity at home, to hinder it from being effectual. It is obvious to every apprehenſion, that the removal of theſe dangers would be one of the neceſſary conſequences of it. For who does not ſee, that if the Roman Catholicks, on ſuch terms as I have deſcrib'd, might enjoy their Religion, and their Eſtates, and their liberty, they would not count them their Friends that would perſwade them to throw away that enjoyment. Doubtleſs, if ſome few did not know when they were well, the generality of them would underſtand it. And both they of their own Church, and much more the Proteſtants, would think them not to be pitied, that ſhould loſe what they had thrown away with their own hands, eſpecially when they conſidered, for what end theſe men did it; that it was out of a reſtleſs deſire to bring a Foreign Tyrannical Yoke upon their Country.

Therefore, ſince by this, and what elſe has been ſaid on this head, we cannot but ſee, That the only immediate cauſes, not only of the Propagation, but Preſervation of Popery in this Kingdom; (*viz.* the great buſineſs and boldneſs of them of the Popiſh Faction, and the great tameneſs and fearfulneſs

fearfulneſs of the other Clergy of that Communion among us) would be quite removed by ſuch a Diſcrimination of Roman Catholicks: We cannot but conclude with the ſame evidence, That ſuch a Diſcrimination would be effectual to ſuppreſs Popery in this Kingdom. For nothing can be more clear in Natural Reaſon then that, whereſoever the only immediate cauſes both of the Propagation and Conſervation of any thing ceaſes, there that thing it ſelf muſt ceaſe to be. And after all that has been ſaid already, we cannot rationally doubt, whether by ſuch a Diſcrimination, thoſe only immediate cauſes of the Preſervation and Propagation of Popery would ceaſe to be any longer in *England*. 'Tis manifeſt to every conſidering man, That in caſe of ſuch a Diſcriminating Courſe, duly and conſtantly held, the buſie Agents for Popery, muſt either give up their Cauſe, or fly their Country. And either way will do our buſineſs. If any of them ſtay, they will do their part toward it, by giving ſecurity to the State. Which cannot be without the renouncing of Popery. If they all go, it will be a bleſſed riddance of them and Popery together. For the active part or ſoul of it will depart with the Jeſuites. And the Body or Scheme of Doctrines will be interr'd by thoſe whom they leave behind them, or rather hang'd up, for it does not deſerve Chriſtian Burial.

2. Such a Diſcrimination would alſo be juſt and equitable. For it would be according to the intention of the Laws of this Kingdom, and moſt agreeable to the eternal Law of Reaſon,

ſon, and the ancient practice of the Chriſtian World.

By all theſe Rules I have ſhewn, that it is not juſt nor equitable, that the penalties of the Laws, as now they are, ſhould be inflicted on all Roman Catholicks indifferently, without any reſpect of Loyal or Diſloyal. And in proving this, I have ſufficiently ſhewn, (For it follows by the Rule of Contraries above-mention'd,) That it is both juſt and equitable, that all of that Religion, who being faulty in nothing elſe, ſhall give ſuch aſſurance of their Loyalty, as the State ſhall think fit to require, ſhould enjoy an exemption from thoſe penalties, which were never intended for ſuch perſons. But of this more ſhall be ſpoken in due place.

For them, on the other hand, who refuſe to give ſuch an aſſurance, and by their obſtinacy therein, would keep the State in perpetual jealouſie, and expoſe it to the danger of unknown Enemies, who cannot be known from good Subjects, but by ſuch a way of diſtinction as they endeavour to obſtruct: I conceive 'tis juſt and equitable, that the State ſhould look upon them either as Enemies, or at leaſt, as the Concealers of Enemies.

If they are only Concealers of ſuch Enemies as our Papalins are, it is juſt that they ſhould ſuffer for it in the ſame degree as they tranſgreſs againſt the Law, and as they hinder the ſecurity of the State. And it is no ſmall tranſgreſſion in them, that not only diſobey the Law, but (as far as in them lies) make many Laws utterly uſeles. For thoſe Laws being provided for the ſecurity of the State

State againſt a Sect, or rather Faction of men, who are dangerous in the higheſt degree, and for whom the Law has therefore procured the higheſt puniſhment; it is certainly a great preſumption of thoſe, who in ſpight, and as it were in defiance of the Law, will keep them not only from being puniſht, but from being ſo much as diſtinguiſht.

Now it is evident that the Papalins are ſuch a Faction, whoſe Principles lead them, when they ſee their opportunity, to ſubvert the preſent Government and Laws both of the Church and Kingdom of *England*. It is certain that in purſuance of theſe Principles, they have attempted to do all this more than once within theſe laſt hundred years. And this in favour to the pretences of a Foreiner, who has more than one dormant Title to the Sovereignty of *England*, who actually invaded *Ireland* in Queen *Elizabeths* days, and uſurpt the Royal Power there by his Nuncio in our Age; who aſſumes to himſelf in ſome caſes (whereof he makes himſelf the only Judge) a right to diſpoſe of all States and Kingdoms whatſoever. If therefore any State may juſtly endeavour to preſerve it ſelf againſt a Forein Enemy, and may make Laws to reſtrain their own people from joyning with them, and may puniſh with death or otherwiſe, as many as ſhall preſume to break thoſe Laws; *England* has all this right within it ſelf, as well as any other State, and may uſe it as well againſt the Pope as againſt any other Enemy. And therefore the State may require all its Subjects to declare againſt his Uſurpation, and to renounce all thoſe Principles that are any way favourable to it. If any of

them ſhall refuſe to do do this, the State may juſtly puniſh them, whether with death or otherwiſe, according to its Laws; which in this point are enacted with the higheſt reaſon, and backt with all other Laws, Divine and Humane, *&c.* with the practice not only of other Chriſtian States, but of all other Nations in the world.

I know the Refuſers will be ready to ſay, their Conſcience will not ſuffer them to declare againſt that Power which the Pope aſſumes to himſelf, nor to renounce thoſe ill Principles which they ſay are a part of their Religion. No doubt they that are through-Papiſts have great reaſon to ſay this. For Popery, as I have ſhewn, does conſiſt of ſuch Principles, which though, as to the matter of them, they are truly Secular and Political, yet go veiled under the ſacred name of Religion. They whoſe intereſt it is to have them believed, are pleaſed to make them Articles of the Catholick Faith. And no doubt it takes with many. For we ſee there are thoſe that do not ſtick to ſacrifice their lives for thoſe Principles. And what can be dearer to men than their Lives, but Religion? We ſee they do not ſpare the lives of men of oppoſite Principles, againſt whom they profeſs to have no other Quarrel but Religion. And we have reaſon to believe them; for 'tis what our Saviour ſaid, *When they kill you, they ſhall think they are doing God ſervice.* John 16. 2.

But what Religion is that, which teaches men to do things which are ſo evidently againſt the light of Nature, as Murder; eſpecially when joyned with Rebellion, and acted upon the perſons of their

their own Princes, and tending to the diſſolution of humane Society and deſtruction of mankind? Whatſoever Religion this be, ſure enough 'tis not Chriſtian, nor ſuch as ought to be allow'd among Chriſtians. And therefore if their Conſcience binds them not to renounce it, ſo does the Magiſtrates Conſcience bind him to puniſh them for it. 'Tis the duty of him that bears the Sword to puniſh all Immorality, though never ſo lawful or neceſſary in the judgment of him that commits it. If a Jew or a Turk come to live in this Kingdom, and marry many Wives, which he may ſafely do by his Law, 'tis juſt by our Law to hang him for it. Much more if one be guilty of ſuch immorality as tends immediately to the ſubverſion of the Kingdom, it is both juſt and neceſſary to ſend him away, or not let him live in it but at his peril. And if he complain that this is perſecution for Conſcience, (which by the way cannot but ſound very odly from one of that Sect, that burn men only for Conſcience) his complaint in this caſe would be very unreaſonable: And we ought to be no more moved with it, than we ſhould be, if he complain'd that we would not ſtand ſtill, and have our throats cut, in compliance with his Conſcience.

There is nothing that can ſecure State or People againſt this Religious Diſtemper of the fiery Papalins, and that can alſo preſerve the Civil Rights and Proprieties of good Subjects of that Communion, but only ſuch a diſcrimination between them as may diſtinguiſh the Loyal from the Diſloyal, the Turbulent from the Peaceable, in ſuch manner that they both may have what they de-

ſerve. This is in effect to render to every one his due, according to Law and Reaſon: Which is the very definition of Juſtice and Equity. For the adminiſtration whereof God has ordain'd the Civil Power, and put the Sword into the Magiſtrates hand, to employ it, (as the Apoſtle ſays)

1 Pet. 2. 14. *to the praiſe of them that do well, and for the terror of evil doers.*

By what has been ſaid on this laſt Head, it ſufficiently appears, that ſuch a diſcrimination is alſo for the Intereſt of the Church and State of *England*: For that Intereſt is preſerv'd by Juſtice and Equity; which will entitle it to that bleſſing from

Prov. 14. 34. God which he hath promis'd in his Word, and which are naturally apt to be inſtrumental to the Divine Providence in producing that good which he has promiſed. For a juſt diſtribution of Rewards and Puniſhments makes the Government venerable in the eyes of the people, and ſecures it at home by their chearful obedience. It alſo acquires that Reputation abroad which will make it either loved or feared by all the neighbour Nations. Our Neighbours of the Roman Communion who are now poſſeſt by the clamours of thoſe among us, that ſay they are perſecuted for Religion, and who can judge no otherwiſe when they ſee men ſeverely handled that are criminal no other way, will be ſoon diſabuſed by ſuch a diſcrimination. And it will right us to thoſe Proteſtants abroad, to whom the State has been ill repreſented by ſome on the other hand, for not executing all the Penal Laws againſt Popery. It will ſave *England* the trouble of making Apologies either way, to vindicate the

Juſtice

Juſtice of its proceedings to other Nations. For it is manifeſt, that no Government can tolerate ſuch as hold Tenets inconſiſtent with its own ſafety; nor on the contrary, deny the protection of the Laws to men whoſe Principle it is to obey the Government, and to do all that in them lies to ſupport it: To venture their lives in defence of the Authority, not only of the Legiſlators, but of thoſe very Laws which they make againſt them, till thoſe Laws are repeal'd by the ſame power by which they were made.

It were eaſie to bring hither all thoſe reaſons with which I ſhewed before, that undiſtinguiſhing Laws and execution of Laws are againſt the Intereſt of the Church and State of *England*; and to prove by the ſame reaſons, that nothing of this kind can be more for it than ſuch a Diſcrimination as is here propounded. For if it be for the Intereſt of *England* to ſupport and ſtrengthen the Government, then it is not to weaken the Friends of the Government, nor to ſtrengthen or preſerve the Enemies of it. I ſhew'd that ſuch would be the effect of an undiſtinguiſhing way; which is therefore deſired by them of the Popiſh Faction, as being next to a Toleration the moſt likely means to unite and to encreaſe their party among us. Now taking thoſe things for granted which are already proved, it follows that, upon the account of Intereſt, this way of Diſcrimination ſhould be as deſirable to us as 'tis hateful and deteſtable to them. Sure enough they apprehend it, and not without viſible cauſe, to be the likelieſt way both to ſtop

the further growth of Popery, and to leſſen the number of Papiſts among us.

I may add (which is viſible in the nature of the thing) that a Diſcrimination between them that are of the ſame Communion will be a ſure way to divide them among themſelves. Which may be a means to do ſome of them the greateſt ſpiritual good, or at leaſt to keep us from taking that hurt which we have reaſon to fear from ſo numerous and powerful a Combination againſt us.

For the way of Diſtinction between Papiſts and other Roman Catholicks muſt be by ſome teſt or mark of Diſtinction. And that either by the paſſing of ſome new Law for it, eſpecially when there is a new mark of Diſtinction, or by the ſtrict execution of thoſe Laws that are in force for the taking of any Teſt that is already made. In either of theſe Caſes, the Papalins (who are men of intelligence) will take an early alarm, and try their Friends here in *England*, if they can to prevent the paſſing of any ſuch Law, or the execution of any that is paſt. If their Friends fail them here, their next reſort is to *Rome*, where they have an old Friend that never fails them. The Pope, if he has not forgotten the old trick, ſends out his Cenſures againſt all that ſhall ſubmit to thoſe Laws, and take the Teſt which is preſcribed in them. If it be no more than the Oath of Allegiance, that is forbidden already by divers Popes, and condemned by them as having many things in it which are contrary to the Catholic Faith. And the reaſon of this ſeverity is, as well to guard their own Temporal Power, as to keep their Creatures and Friends from

from discovery. If any here, and especially if any Priests of that Communion, are so bold, notwithstanding all this to take the Test; then upon the next information, or soon after, the Pope sends to tell noses. And if he finds they are but few that transgress (which will scarce be in our case) he delays not to cite them to *Rome*, and if they come thither, woe be to them; if not, he curses them afresh, and particularly. But if they are many, he considers their strength, and being Curse-proof, he forbears them for the present, only leaving them under his general Censures. Otherwise, if they are a weak and obnoxious multitude, he proceeds to further Censures against them. And if some few have been more forward than the rest in doing that which the Law requires, and specially if any dares justifie what they have done, he denounces them Excommunicate by name, and therein both sacrifices them to his own angry Deity, and gives his discovered Creatures some kind of revenge on those poor men, to ease their hearts, till he and they can find how to be reveng'd on the State, for which they are to wait their opportunity.

When any of these things happens, as it has done in like cases, and as it will do in these abovementioned, if Popes are constant to themselves: (For there is nothing here said but what I could prove both by Rule and Example) we have reason to hope that some of those censur'd men, who are able to right themselves, or rather their Religion, will do it, by declaring against the horrible injury that is done both to it and them. And

specially

ſpecially their Prieſts, who have hitherto alledg'd, that the reaſon they have not done it all this while, has been their continual fear of a Proclamation to ſend them beyond Sea, where they are ſure to be call'd to a ſevere account for whatſoever they have ſaid or done againſt the Intereſt of *Rome*. When that fear is over, as it will be upon their giving ſecurity to the State, it may juſtly be expected, that they will both ſpeak and write their minds freely, as occaſion ſhall be offered, for the inſtruction of their people, and for the Vindication of themſelves and their Religion. If the general Cenſures be objected, as it is certain they will, by thoſe that procur'd them, they will be oblig'd to ſhew the injuſtice and the invalidity of thoſe Cenſures. If they are Excommunicated by name for ſo doing, they will be further engag'd to conſider the Authority of him that lays about him ſo madly with the Keys of the Church. It was ſo in *Luther's* Caſe, The quarrel begun between him and the Procurers of the Pope's Bulls. It proceeded from them to their Patrons in the Court of *Rome*. And ſo at laſt it came up to the Papal Authority it ſelf. Who knows but that it may pleaſe God (for *Vexatio dat intellectum*) that many among us being vext with Declarations, that are certainly uncanonical, may be brought by that means to diſcover, that the Power which ſent them forth is Antichriſtian?

Iſa. 28. 19.

The moſt difficult thing that is required toward the making this diſcovery, is only to lay aſide thoſe ſtrong prejudices which men commonly receive from their Education, and from converſe with men

men and things of that Age in which they live.

He that laying aſide theſe ſhall look impartially into the Scriptures, and into the undoubted Records of the Primitive Church, ſhall find no Foundation for that prodigious Fabrick of the Papacy. For the firſt three hundred years after Chriſt, they will find only two, namely *Victor* and *Stephen*, that took upon them to cenſure any which were not of their Dioceſs. And though their Cenſures (for ought that appears) were only Declarations of Non-Communion, ſuch as any Biſhop in thoſe days might ſend forth againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, as well as he againſt other Biſhops; yet we find that, even for that, they were blamed and condemned by other Biſhops. And that is all the effect that we read their Cenſures had in any place out of *Rome* it ſelf. Pope *Victor* in his Cenſure of the *Aſian* Biſhops, is thought not to have gone beyond threatning, to break Communion with them, and endeavouring to perſuade other Biſhops to do the ſame. And yet for this he was ſmartly handled by ſome of the *Brethren*: and it is charitably thought he was ſet right by the grave Counſel of *Irenæus*, who writ to him in the name of the *Gallican* Church, and told him he did not learn this of any of his Predeceſſors. Of Pope *Stephen* it is certain that he went farther in his Quarrel with the *Aſian* and *African* Biſhops. For he not only broke off Communion, but all civil Converſation with them; and commanded his people not to let any of them come within their doors. But this was only at *Rome*. For it does not appear that he pretended any Authority elſewhere. And

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. V. 24. *Vales. in locum.*

Firmilians Epiſtle among *Cyprian's*, Epiſt. 75. pag. 166. edit. *Rigaltii.*

how he was ſcorn'd abroad for his Pride and Folly in this, the Reader may ſee in thoſe two excellent Epiſtles. The later of which was left out of the Roman Edition of St. *Cyprian:* and *Pamelius* honeſtly declares he would have ſtifled it, if others had not publiſh'd it before him.

Cypr. Epiſt. 74. & 75. Vide *Rigalt.* in *Cyprian,* Epiſt. 75.

Leſt any one ſhould take offence at my not giving the uſual garniſh of the Popes of that Age to thoſe two whom I mentioned, (for I dare not call them Saints and Martyrs, though the Roman Church does, both elſewhere, and in her Offices on their days) I ought to let him know how that Church is abuſed by them that have gained no ſmall advantage to themſelves by ſuch Fictions. That the old Roman Church in the time of *Conſtantius* knew nothing of either of their Martyrdoms, it appears by her Catalogue of Popes, publiſht firſt by *Cuſpinian*, and ſince by *Bucherius* the Jeſuite. Nay ſhe knew the contrary of one of them. For in the Roman Calendar of that Age, publiſht by the ſame *Jeſuite*, *Victor* is not mentioned at all, and *Stephen* is among the Popes that were no Martyrs. If this proof were not enough, or if this place were proper for it, I ſhould ſhew from good Authors, that though theſe Popes lived under Emperors that were afterwards Perſecutors; yet they died before the beginning of their perſecutions. I do not ſay but they may be Saints; but if they are, 'tis more than we have any ground to believe. For neither the Church-Hiſtory, nor any Writer within a hundred years of their time, has any more of their Sanctity than of their Sufferings. Of *Stephen* there is great cauſe to doubt the contrary from

July 28. and *Auguſt* 2.

from what we read of him in St. *Cyprian's* * Epiſtle, and more from that of *Firmilian*, † which is thought to have been tranſlated by St. *Cyprian*, and which was written * about the time of *Stephens* death, rather after than before it.

* *Cyprian*, Ep. 74. & 75.
† *Rigalt.* Obſ. in Ep. 75.
* Almoſt 22 years after the Reign of *Alexander Severus*. *Cyprian*, Epiſt. 75. p. 160.

It is to be hoped that many Roman Catholics among us have truly that Reverence which all of them profeſs to true Primitive Chriſtian Antiquity, and to the judgment of Saints and Martyrs in all Ages. We all agree that *Irenæus* and *Cyprian* had a juſt right to thoſe Titles. And *Firmilian* was a chief Pillar of the Church in his Age. He was thought worthy to preſide in ſeveral Eaſtern Councils: namely, in that againſt the *Novatians*, before *Stephen* was Pope: and thoſe againſt *Samoſatenus*, after *Stephen* was dead. And after his own death, the Eaſtern * Church of that Age called him *Firmilian of Bleſſed Memory*. Why this man is not in the Calendar of Saints, they beſt know who can tell us why *Victor* and *Stephen* are there. No doubt the Saint-makers do all things with great conſideration. But can any one imagin that thoſe excellent men did ever believe themſelves to be under the Roman Biſhop? that they ow'd any obedience to Him whom they ſchool'd ſo, or any Reverence to his Cenſures which they ſlighted in that manner? Could any aſſurance of their Cauſe have juſtified that contempt of Authority, if they had known any in him? But it appears they knew it not; nor did others in that Age. Thoſe that were againſt them in the Cauſe, blamed them for that, and nothing

* In their Synodical Epiſt.

else; and yet held Communion with them, for all Pope *Stephen* and his Censures.

So far it appears those great men had the judgment of the Church on their side. They knew of no Authority over the Universal Church that the Pope had more than any other Bishop by any right, whether Divine or Humane. What the Judgment of the Church was in the next Centuries, let them consider that shall read those Canons * in the Margent, and remember they are such as past in the first Four General Councils, and in the African Council of 217 Bishops, (of whom St. *Austin* was one) assembled at *Carthage*. To which I add, the African Church to Pope *Cœlestine* I. as containing a full Declaration of their mind in that Canon. I know there are objections against one or two of these Canons. But all the dust that has been rais'd will not hinder any reasonable man from seeing that which, I think, is sufficient for our purpose: namely, that all the Fathers that sate in those Councils, or at least the major part of them, were of the same judgment with those abovementioned in this point of the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*. They all allow'd him precedency as being Bishop of the Imperial City. They had commonly a great deference to his Judgment in Debates between themselves. And sometimes the Christian Emperors made him honorary Judge, whether alone or with others, in such Controversies. Indeed by the Canons of *Sardica*, those few † Western Bishops that continued there, after the 170. saith St. *Athanasius*, (who was one of them) *Ad Solit. vitam agentes.* Tom. 1. 818. Of the Eastern, 73 declared against the Western Bishops. *Hilar. Fragm.* p. 448. and some were Neuters.

Easter-

* See in the *Codex, Canonum universalis Ecclesiæ*, or in the Councils; *Concil. Nicen.* I. can. 6. *Concil. Constant.* I. can. 2. *Concil. Ephes.* I. can. 8. *Conc. Chalced.* can. 28. together with *Act.* 16. of that Council. *Concil. Afric.* can. 31. in the Greek, or 72. and 92. in the Latin. *Epist. ad Cœlestinum*, which is at the end of that Council.

† The Western and Eastern Bishops together, were

Easterlings had left them, were *pleased* meerly *of their Charity* to give him a new Power, to order the reviewing of any Provincial Judgment upon complaint of any Bishop that was aggrieved in it. And Pope *Leo* not being satisfied with this, got the Emperor *Valentinian* III. to ordain * that the Bishop of *Rome* should give Law throughout his part of the Empire (which then contained little more than *Italy*, and part of *France*, and part of *Spain*, and the *Illyrian* Dioceſs.) Yet all that the Bishop of *Rome* had by these Concessions and Grants did not amount to an Authority over the Universal Church. I add, nor over the *British* Church in * particular. And so far was this from arguing that he had by *Divine Right* any Jurisdiction out of his own Dioceſs, that his seeking or accepting what was given him by these Concessions or Grants, is a convincing argument to the contrary. But for the Churches Judgment, nothing can be more plain, than that all those Bishops who gave their Votes to those Canons which I cited before out of the first Four General Councils, and that of *Africk*, together with the Epistle annext, had no question or thought of any Authority that he had by *Divine Right* out of his own proper Dioceſs, or by *Humane Right* out of the Roman Patriarchy, or any power of Jurisdiction that he had elsewhere from the Roman Emperors, or from the Primitive Fathers.

* By his *Novel*, dated *An.* 445. *June* 6. Vid. *Leo* I. Epist. 89.

* There were no Brittish Bishops at the Council of *Sardica*; as appears by the Inscription of the Synodical Epistle, *Athan.* Tom 1. p. 756. and by the Subscriptions, both of the Synodical Epistle, *Hilar. Fragm. col.* 408. and of the Canons in the Edition of *Isidorus Mercator*. Though the Brittish Bishops or some of them did afterwards approve of the Councils Judgment in the case of St. *Athanasius*. *Ath.* Tom. 1. p. 720. (where note, the Translation is false.) And as for that Law of *Valentinian* III. It was not made till after *Britain* was forsaken by the *Romans*; which was *Theodosii* 18 (or *Anno* 440.) saith *Prosper Pithæi*; *Anno* 443. saith the *Saxon* Chron. *Theodosii* 23. (or *Anno* 455.) saith *Beda*, Hist. l. 13.

Whatsoever power he has gotten since the decay of the Roman Empire and of the Christian Religion, (from whence I have already * dated the beginning of Popery) as it is plain he has gotten in many Countries, which were not anciently within his Jurisdiction upon any account, it must be either by force or fraud, abusing either the weakness or ignorance of the people, or else by the concession or connivence of Princes and States. Blessed be God, there are some Christian Nations in the world which have stood so far out of his reach, that he has not been able to hook them in by any of these ways. And as he has no colourable pretence to a power over those Countries where it is certain he never had any, as *Ethiopia*, *Russia*, &c. (which they that are pleased to call therefore Schismatical, must give me leave to admire as well their folly as their uncharitableness: and yet they that do not call them so, make the Pope no Head of the Universal Church:) so in those Countries where he has gotten power, it is not necessary that he should always hold it, till we see who is *Antichrist*, whether He, or one of the Tribe of *Dan*, who (they say) shall come to take it from him. They over whom he gain'd a power by force or fraud, are kept under it still the same way; which creates no right by any Law whatsoever. And therefore when God makes them strong enough, and wise enough, they will deliver themselves from him. They that gave him a power over them when they saw cause, may have as good or better cause to recal it. And they have just cause to do this, when they see him desert that Title by their Gift, and claim

* Page 4, 5, &c.

claim his power by *immediate Divine Right*, or when he employs his power *not to edification but deſtruction*: and ſpecially when doing all this he will force their obedience by ſuch means, as come not from the *Wiſdom which is from above*, but from that which the Apoſtle calls *earthly*, *ſenſual*, *devilliſh*. 2 Cor. 10. 8. James 3. 15.

Whoſoever among our Roman Catholicks will be pleaſed to conſider theſe things with that Attention and Impartiality that is due to all things of Religion, I cannot but think he will ſee that the Chriſtian Religion doth no way oblige him to own the Popes Authority in this Kingdom.

He will ſee that *Jure Divino* the Pope could have no Authority over this particular Church, which he had not over the Church univerſal. And it doth not appear by any Records of the Primitive times, that the Pope ever had any ſuch Authority over the Univerſal Church, or that by the Diffuſive Church he was believed or acknowledged to have it.

But on the contrary it appears, by inſtances which I have given of thoſe times, that he was denied to have ſuch an Authority, and that as well by the Biſhops aſſembled in their Councils, as by the beſt and wiſeſt men of thoſe times in their Writings: Nay he was contradicted and reſiſted as oft as he endeavoured to impoſe any thing againſt the mind of particular Churches.

He will ſee that whatſoever Humane Right the Pope had acquired over the people of this Kingdom, was no more of one kind, than we are all originally of one Nation; and that the power which

which he was ſuffered to exerciſe over us, was very much greater at one time than another. In the worſt and darkeſt times it was higheſt, for it grew up on the bad Titles or other weakneſs of Princes; and yet then he could not hold it peaceably, nor long enough to make a Preſcription. But at all other times it was much leſs than he claim'd; which ſheweth plainly it was no more but what the State pleaſed to give him: and they owned that the Pope had no right over them by any conceſſions of their own, more than what he had over the reſt of the Weſtern Churches.

From King *Stephen* to *Hen.* III.

Particularly, in thoſe times next before the Reformation, that right which was generally acknowledged to be in him, was not a ſupreme right, but ſubordinate to a General Council.

This appears to have been the ſenſe of the Weſtern Church. For it was declared in plain terms by four Councils, which were acknowledged for General in that Age, and were abetted as ſuch by the generality of the Weſtern Church. They not only declared this Doctrine in their Canons, but they reduced it to practice. For thoſe Councils depoſed divers Popes, and made new ones in their ſtead. Which Acts of theirs the Papalins of this Age are obliged to defend, as ill as they like the Canons; for without them they cannot make up the ſucceſſion of their preſent Popes. But admitting thoſe Acts to have been juſt and good, how can they reject thoſe Canons from which they had their virtue and efficacy? If they ſay the Pope did not approve them, it is partly true. Out of doubt thoſe Popes did not like them that loſt by them.

Piſa, Conſtance, Siena, and *Baſil.*

Greg. XII. and *Bennet* XIII. and *John* XXIII.

Nor

Nor perhaps thoſe that came in by thoſe Canons might not like them ſo well at another time. But how then could they take upon them to be Popes? Their accepting a Title from thoſe Councils, and the Peoples owning them in it, was enough to ſhew that thoſe Canons were then in force; and they were never repealed by any Council ſince; nor hath there been any Council to do it, that can be reaſonably thought ſo fit, as thoſe four were, to declare the ſenſe of the Weſtern diffuſive Church.

Therefore taking it for proved, that a general Council is ſuperiour to the Pope, it muſt neceſſarily follow that there lies an Appeal from the Pope to ſuch a Council. And that his hands are tied up by ſuch an Appeal; ſo that he cannot proceed at leaſt to Cenſure the Appellant; for this were not only a private Injury to the Perſon, but an Invaſion of the Rights of the Supreme Court of Judicature among Chriſtians. Therefore if the Pope ſhould do ſo Uncanonical a thing, he may be Canonically diſobeyed and reſiſted. Yea, he ought to be ſo (for it were a betraying the Churches right to do otherwiſe) till there is ſuch a Court or Council to which the Appeal was made. And ſuch a Council there would be at leaſt once in ten years, if the Pope did not hinder it. For having taken upon-himſelf the power of Calling and Preſiding in Councils, it is his pleaſure to have none. And no doubt he hath reaſon for it, though there is Law to the contrary, as good Law for a Council every ten* years as can be made by any Authority in the Weſtern Church.

* *Concil. Conſt.* Seſſ. 39.

Such Appeals from the Pope to a General Council have been made by divers Persons and Societies in the Roman Communion; as namely, by *Auxilius* in the name of the Clergy of all *Italy*; By *Michael* of *Cæsena* in the name of the whole *Franciscan* Order; By seven Cardinals, who were at that time the major part of their Colledge; By divers Emperours of *Germany*, against divers Popes, some of whom they deposed, and made other Popes in their Councils; By divers Kings of *France*, some of whom have forbid all Communication with *Rome* till they had right done them in their Controversies.

Aux. Part I. 28 and *ult.* and II, 14, 21.

Theod. de Niem. Nemoris, part. 6. c. 10.

Joh. Marius de Schism. & Conc. l. 19, & 24.

That some of these had cause enough for what they did, and that they had just Authority to do it, will be granted by most of them of the Roman Church. But they will not grant the like of our King *Henry* VIII. whom they make Author of the Protestant Schism, as they call it. And yet setting aside Popular Opinions and Prejudices, I do not see what there was really in his Case which might not be cleared from Schism by those Rules and Examples. I speak only of his casting off the Popes Authority, as being that which no doubt was a means to bring on the Reformation. As for those other things with which he is charged, they are extrinsick to our Cause, and we are no way accountable for them. Namely, for his dissolving of Monasteries, It was (*a*) one whom *Wolsey* had bred to it that taught him the way, and (*b*) they whom he employed would have burnt us if we had lived in those days. For his being *Head of the Church*, whosoever is offended at it, let him blame

[a] *Tho. Cromwel. Hubert.* p. 173, 174.
[b] Dr. *Lee* and *Tregonion. Fox.* p. 119. Dr. *London. Fox* p. 897, and 1104, &c.

blame the (*c*) Six-Article men who brought up that Title, and who both Preached and Writ for it, and not the Q. *Elizabeth* Protestants (*d*) who cast it forth. Much more for his Personal excesses, whatsoever they were, if they concern any Religion, it must be theirs and not ours. For *as to his Conscience*, (*e*) they tell us, *he always continued a Roman Catholic.*

c B. *Gardiner.* B. *Bonner*, &c.

d *Camden, Eliz.* p. 26.

e *Sand. de Schism.* p. 103. B. *Ed.* 1585. *Cressy* Pref. to *Exom.*

These things being set apart, or charged where they ought to be, there will remain on our account only this to be considered, Whether that Prince were guilty of Schism in casting the Popes Authority out of this Kingdom? Or whether he did no more in that matter than he might lawfully do, according to the Principles of his own, that is, the Roman, Communion? If he had Right to Appeal from the Pope to a Council, and was hindred by him from prosecuting that right, and was thereby forced to disobey and oppose him; in this Case it has been shewn that Disobedience and Resistance was Lawful. Whether that were his Case, will appear by searching into matter of Fact. And to be rightly informed of this, one must not take all for true that *Sanders* says; though having the luck to be contemned at the first by them that should have confuted him, he has carried the World before him ever since, being not only transcribed by the Writers of his side, but also followed by many others that seem not to know whence they have their Stories. We that live in a more inquisitive Age have seen *many things* of which he is, the Author, acknowledged by his (*a*) Friends to be *very improbable*, and some things proved by (*b*) others to have been altogether impossible.

a *Labbe* Chron. An. 1528.

b L. *Herbert* in *Henry* VIII.

impoſſible. Yet in thoſe things which he ſays without evident partiality, Proteſtants are not unwilling he ſhould be heard; and Roman Catholics may be content to hear others with him, who, though Proteſtants, yet, are not liable to the like imputation.

In the Cauſe of that King's Appeal, many things are to be conſidered elſewhere, which are not proper for this occaſion. It ſuffices to know that in his Minority he was (*c*) betrothed to *Katharine* of *Spain* his Brothers Widow. That the Contract was made by his Father, for reaſons of State, againſt the judgment and advice of (*d*) Archbiſhop *Warham*; who then told him that he thought it *neither honourable, nor well-pleaſing to God.* That the (*e*) People at that time murmured againſt it, and (*f*) ſoon after the Prince himſelf, as *Warham* adviſed, made a formal Proteſtation that he would never marry her. And yet, after his Fathers death, he was perſwaded to it, and did (*g*) marry her with the Popes Diſpenſation. When he had lived with her near ſeventeen years, and, as (*h*) *Sanders* ſays, was weary of her, (whether he was or no is not material,) the Popes Legate Cardinal *Wolſey* *pretended to have found a Nullity in the Marriage; and, in care for the King's Salvation, (as he ſaid) acquainted Biſhop *Longland*, the Kings Confeſſor, with it. They both declared this to the King; whoſe ancient doubt being now revived, he ſpent (*i*) *almoſt a whole year* in Study and Conſultation concerning it.

[c] 1502 ending.

[d] L. *Herbert.* Ib.

[e] Ibid.

[f] 1505. *June* 27. Ibid. page 249.

[g] 1509. *June* 3. *Pol. Virgil.*

[h] *Sand. de Sch.* page 9. who makes 1526. the Firſt Year of the Divorce.

* *Sand.* Ib. & *Pallavicino.*

[i] Hiſt. Conc. *Trent* II. 15. 5. *Sand.* Ib. p. 10.

I enter

I enter not into the merit of the Cauſe, being indifferent at this time whether the Marriage was Lawful or no. For it appears (which is enough) that he had reaſon to doubt, and that he took the beſt way for ſatisfaction, according to their Principles.

When * he had ſatisfied his own Judgment, (as (*i*) himſelf ſays, though † *Sanders* ſay otherwiſe.) And had the Judgments, not only of thoſe Men before-mentioned, but of all the (*k*) Clergy of *England*, ſave two, that his Marriage was *Null*; And he had (*l*) reaſon to believe that moſt Learned Men abroad were of the ſame Opinion; there wanted only this more to have the Popes Declaration of the Nullity. This at preſent could not be had, for he was the Emperour's priſoner. But as ſoon as he was at liberty, being deſired by the King, who had (*m*) obliged him above all men, and whom as yet he had occaſion to uſe, it ſeemed at firſt that there would be no difficulty that way. For the Pope granted all his requeſts, gave the King what (*n*) Commiſſioners he had named, impower'd them to hear the matter in *England*, gave them (*o*) Bulls to ſhew the King; and to aſſure him he was in earneſt, becauſe things could not be done preſently in form of Law, he gave him ſecret (*p*) advice to marry while the cauſe was depending.

The King having been two years without a Wife, and not only holding himſelf free in his conſcience, but expecting to be ſhortly declared ſo, and having now ſome kind of leave to chuſe another; caſt his eye on *Anne*

(q) *Bolen*,

* 1527. the Second Year. † L. *Herbert*. † *Sand.* Ibid.

k 1527. *Septem.* L. *Herbert*.

l From the Biſhop of *Tarbe*'s Speech before the Council. *Sand. de Schiſm.* page 10.

m *Pallav.* Hiſt. Conc. *Trid.* II. 15. 9.

n *Sand. de Schiſm.* p. 27. L. *Herb.* p. 233.

o *Guicciard.* Hiſt. *Ital. l.* 19. *Camd. Eliz.* p. 3.

p 1528. *Jan.* 13. Letter of *Caſalis* in L. *Herbert*.

1528. The Third Year.

(q) *Bolen*, one whoſe Perſon and Birth might have (r) deſerved the beſt of his ſubjects; and who being then a ſtranger in (ſ) *England*, could not have that part which * *Sanders* gives her in diſplacing Queen *Katharine*; nor could have preſerved her any otherwiſe, than by ſubmitting to the King's luſt, the refuſal (t) whereof made her worthy of a nobler application. But this Lady had been brought up in *France* among Proteſtants, and was ſuſpected to have ſome inclination (u) that way; which ſuſpicion was enough, not only to blacken her, but to daſh the King's (x) ſuit, much the ſooner if not only for her ſake. It moved but ſlowly before, for the Pope, being (y) engaged by the Emperour, had ſent inſtructions (z) after his Legates, requiring them to uſe all poſſible delays, either to conceal (a) his Bulls, or to burn them, and leave him free to do as he ſhould ſee occaſion. Thus far he ſeems to have gone, before he heard what choice the King had made. But when that was diſcovered, (and whether for that cauſe, or becauſe he had made a new (b) Alliance with the Emperour, which tended to make the Popes (c) Nephew Duke of *Florence*, and the Queen being the Emperour's Aunt ought in reaſon to have ſome benefit of it) whatſoever moved him to it, the Pope after this would truſt her cauſe no longer in *England*, but having voided (d) that Commiſſion to his Legates, called it home to his own Determination.

(q) *Camden Eliz.* p. 2. ſaith in his 38. year of age. But he was born 1491. *June* 28.

(r) *Camden.* Ibid. p.102.

(ſ) *Camden*, Ibid. ſaith, being then returned. *Heylin* ſaith, ſhe returned with her Father from his Embaſſie; which was in 1527. ſaith *Stow*, in that year.

* Page 10.

(t) *Camden*, Ibid. *Sand. de Schiſm.* p.23. *Pallavic.* Ibid. 11. 15.8.

(u) *Sand.* Ibid. p. 17.

(x) *Camd. Eliz.* P.3.

(y) L. *Herb.* p.232.

(z) *Sand.* Ibid. p.28.

(a) L. *Herb.* 1528. *Decemb.* 17.

(b) Signified to the King, 1529 *Jun.* 13. L. *Herbert.* publiſht *July* 3. Ibid.

(c) *Thuan.* l. 1. p. 18. C. D.

(d) Avocation ſigned *Jun.* 15. L. *Herbert.*

The

The King not knowing what to do next, and taking time to consider in his Progress, had (e) *Cranmer* brought to him by some that chanced to hear him say what they thought was material in the Case. He was a (f) stranger to all that had passed hitherto (which I mention, because some would make him a chief man in it.) But from what he had heard, and especially from their discourse, he judged that the King had taken a wrong way; in courting the Pope to retract his Predecessour's dispensation: whereas in truth, as most learned men thought, the Matter it self was Indispensable. And because it was not reasonable to expect that the Pope would judge it so, (for that had been to cut off a main limb of the Papacy) he therefore wish'd that instead of dancing attendance at *Rome*, the King would send to the Universities (as being most able and unconcerned) and get them to declare their Judgments in the case. Hereupon the King sent (g) learned men with his case, and got the judgments of the Universities upon it. To send to those in the Emperours dominions had been to no purpose. But he had ours in *England*, and those in *France* of his side; and the two (h) chief in *Italy*, though not only the Emperour (i) opposed, but the Pope, (k) who had *Bologna* in his Territory. And whereas it is said the King bought them, which his Agents (l) deny; they say that the Emperour bought (m) hands on the contrary; and that he offered largely to get those who had given their judgments for the King to retract it, but they would not take his Money, though they might much more safely than the

1529. the fourth year.

e In *August. Fox* Mart. p. 1688. lin. 88.

f *Fuller* Hist. of *Cambr.* Sect. 6. n. 40.

g Cardinal *Bellay's* brother, and Bishop *Stokesly*. *Stow*, p. 532.

1530. the fifth year.

h *Bologna* and *Padua*.

i L. *Herb.* 1530. *Jun.* 13. and 22.

k L. *Herb.* Ib. *Aug.* 24. and 29. and *Sept.* 23.

l *Aug.* 31. Ibid.

m *Speed, Hen.* 8. n. 71.

the other. The King being thus ſtrengthened in his cauſe, had reaſon to be the leſs in fear of the Pope, and yet it appears he was not the more willing to break with him. For, after this, he made freſh (*a*) application to him by his Orators and Letters; which were ſeconded with a Petition under the hands and ſeals of both the (*b*) Archbiſhops and others, the chief men of the three States of this Kingdom. They repreſented their own and others judgments of the caſe, they paſſionately beſought him to do the King and them right in it, they declared that if he did not, they ſhould think he had left them to themſelves. All this came out of time, for the Pope was not then to be perſwaded to break his Alliance while he was gathering (*c*) the fruits of it. This the King underſtood by his (*d*) Anſwer. And therefore knowing what he was to expect from abroad, he was the more careful to ſecure himſelf at home. Where to ſatisfie the minds of the people, he declared what had paſſed to all his Subjects in (*e*) Parliament; he ſhewed them the Judgments of the Univerſities, and the books of above one hundred Doctors againſt the lawfulneſs of his Marriage. He alſo cauſed the ſame to be ſhewn (*f*) to Queen *Katharine* by ſome Lords of his Council; who would have perſwaded her to withdraw her Appeal that ſhe had made to the Pope, and to refer her cauſe to the Judgment of others. She refuſed it, and thereupon (*g*) was removed from the Court, and had her choice given her of the Kings houſes in the Country.

[a] *Camd. Eliz.* p. 3. and 4.

[b] *Wolſey* and *Warham.* L. *Herb.* p. 334.

[c] 1530. *Aug* 9. *Florence* taken, 1531. *July* 7. *Alex. Medices* made Duke of it. *Ricciol. Chron.*

[d] L. *Herb.* p. 335.

1531. The Sixth Year.

[e] *Apr.* 30. *Stow.* L. *Herb.* p. 352. *May* 31.

[f] L. *Herb.* p. 354.

[g] *July* 14. L. *Herb.* Ibid.

The

The Queen prosecuting her Appeal, the Pope by Letters exhorted the King to receive her. Which he refused, as being unlawful for him to do; and offered the (*h*) Pope to send Doctors to dispute it before him. He also got (*i*) the King of *France*, to mediate for him, who did it, as being assured of the Justice of his Cause. But all this did not hinder the Pope from (*k*) committing it to the Dean of the *Rota*, who cited the King to appear before him. This being done (*k*) once, and (*l*) again, the King entred his (*m*) Protest against all proceedings in that Court. And the same (*n*) day he privately married *Anne Bolen*; in which, if he was too hasty, it was because he had not been quite seven years to consider. Not long after this, he had (*o*) the Nullity of his former Marriage judg'd and declared in his own Kingdom. which being done, he owned her publickly as his Queen, and gave her the (*p*) solemnity of a Coronation. This was no sooner heard of at *Rome*, but the Pope, (who as long as the King was Plaintiff, had used (*q*) all possible *delay* and *dissimulation*; now the Scales being turned,) without delay, (*r*) declared this Marriage a Nullity; and gave Sentence of Excommunication against the King, unless he put away *Anne*, and restored *Katharine*, before the end of *September* next. The mean while the Pope made sure of the French King by a Treaty then afoot, which produced an Interview between them at *Marseilles*, and a Marriage between their two nearest Relations. Our King, in hope this new Allyance would have given good effect to the French King's Mediation in his

h 1532. *Feb.* L. *Herb.* p. 363.
i *March* 16. L. *Herb.* p. 364.
1532. the seventh year.
k *July* 8. L. *Herb.* p. 364.
l *Nov.* 4.
m *Nov.* 14. L. *Herb.* Ibid.
n *Sand. de Schism.* p. 60. *Cooper. Holinshed.* 129, *&c.*
1533. the eighth year.
o *May* 23. L. *Herb.* p. 375, *&c.*
p *June* 1.
q *Sand. de Schism.* p. 29.
r *July* 11. L. *Herb.* p. 386.

behalf, ſent his Embaſſadours thither. They waited there for a while, but found nothing but delays. And the Pope was now returning to *Rome*, where he reſolved to proceed in the Cauſe. Therefore at an (ſ) Audience before him, they declared the King's Appeal from the Pope to the next lawful General Council. Which Appeal the Pope (t) rejected, as being unlawful, and againſt the conſtitution of one of his Predeceſſours. He alſo declared that there ſhould be a General Council; but that the calling of it belonged not to the King, but to himſelf. And ſoon after, the term that he had ſet for the reſtoring of Queen *Katharine* being now expired, he cauſed his Sentence againſt the King to be openly ſet up at *Dunkirk*, which was then in the Emperours Dominions.

ſ *Nov.* 7. *Bonner* delivered the Appeal. *L. Herb.* p. 389.

t *Nov.* 10. *L. Herb.* Ibid.

This was only a declarative Sentence, in the caſe of *Attentates*, as they term it; but this being paſſed, there was no doubt but ſoon after he would proceed to a Definitive Sentence in the cauſe.

The King was now concerned to look about him, and to provide for the worſt that could happen. Therefore firſt, with the advice of his (u) Council, he acquainted his Subjects with his Appeal, which he cauſed to be ſet up on every Church door throughout his Kingdom; And that his people might underſtand the validity of it, he commanded that they ſhould be taught, that a General Council is above the Pope, and that by Gods Law the Pope has no more to do in *England* than any other Forein Biſhop. Next he ſent to engage as many Forein Princes as he could into a ſtricter Allyance with him. And yet laſtly, to

u *Decemb.* 2. *L. Herb.* p. 395, 396.

ſhew

ſhew that he ſought not theſe ways, but was driven to them; he (x) deſired the Biſhop of *Paris*, who was then Embaſſadour in *England*, to get his Prince to deal effectually with the Pope; and to promiſe in his name, that if the Pope would forbear to paſs any definitive Sentence, till the cauſe might be heard before indifferent Judges, he would alſo forbear what he had otherwiſe purpoſed to do, that is, to withdraw his obedience from the See of *Rome*. The Biſhop gladly took the office of Mediation upon himſelf; and though it was now † the dead of Winter, yet he went poſt to *Rome* to diſcharge it. There in Conſiſtory he delivered his Meſſage to the Pope; and ſo far prevailed, that, at his earneſt requeſt, there was a preſent ſtop of proceedings, on condition, that the King ſhould ſend a Ratification of his promiſe preciſely by ſuch a day. In prefixing the day they ſeemed not to have conſidered the time of the year. For though the Meſſenger, whom the Biſhop ſent into *England*, found a preſent diſpatch there; yet, being hindered (y) by weather, he did not return within his day. The Pope, as if he had watcht for that advantage, reſolved immediately to proceed to a definitive Sentence. There being (z) a Conſiſtory called for that purpoſe, the Biſhop once more came in, and preſſed for a longer time. He begg'd no more but *ſix days*, which as he ſaid (a) *might be granted to a King that had waited on them with patience for ſix years.* It was put to the vote; where, through the eagerneſs of the Imperial Cardinals, not only that ſmall requeſt was denied; but ſuch (b) precipitation was uſed, that

x L. *Herb.* p. 396. and *Lab.* Chron. A. 1534

† In the *Chriſtmas* holy-days. L. *Herb.* p. 396.

y L. *Herb.* and *Labbe.* Ibid.

1534.

z *March* 19. L. *Herb.* p. 396.

a L. *Herb.* Ibid.

b L. *Herb.* and *Labbe.* Ibid.

that as much was done at once in that Consistory, as would have askt no less than thrice according to their usual forms. Such hast they were in, to cut off, and to destroy him whom three Popes (c) successively had entitled their Defender and Deliverer. When they had done their will; within less than six days, that is, the second day after this rash and hasty Sentence, the Post (d) returned from the King with a Ratification of all that had been promised in his name. And he brought this further offer from the King, that he would submit to the Judgment of that Court, on condition that the Imperial Cardinals, who had made themselves Parties against him, should be none of his Judges. There was an Authority sent, for Proctors to appear for him on that condition. At which great submission of the King, compared with their precipitation, the wiser Cardinals (e) were astonished, and petitioned the Pope for an arrest of Judgment. Which could not well be denied him in those Circumstances. And yet it was as if it had not been granted; for they that got the Sentence passed by majority of Votes, had the same will and power to get it confirmed. And (f) confirmed it was, with this advantage; that the Execution of the Sentence was committed to the Emperour; who would be sure to see it done thoroughly, as well to enrich himself with the Spoyls, as to take his revenge in the ruine of a Prince that had provoked him no way more, than in his zeal for the deliverance of this Pope out of his hands.

c Pope *Julius* II. stiled him, *Defender of the Papal Dignity.* *Leo* X. stiled him, *Defender of the Faith.* And *Clement* VII. *The Deliverer of the Roman City.*

d L. *Herb.* and *Labbe.* Ibid.

e L. *Herbert.* P. 397.

f *Mar.* 23. L. *Herb.* Ibid.

In

In this ſeries of things, I cannot but obſerve the hand of God; and adore that unſearchable wiſdom by which he made way to bring in the Reformation of this Church. There was no King in that Age ſo zealous for Popery, as he had been, that came now to throw it out of his Kingdom. Whoſoever conſiders him from firſt to laſt in this buſineſs, cannot but ſee he had no intention to do this. He did all things to avoid it, that could be done by one who was perſwaded of the Juſtice of his cauſe. And thoſe Princes and Prelates who were perſwaded as he was, did their parts to hinder things from coming to this extremity. None deſired it but the Spaniſh and Imperial Faction, unleſs perhaps the Pope himſelf could deſire to leſſen the Papacy, by cutting off a whole Kingdom from the Church, but he (*g*) ſeemed to mind nothing but the raiſing of his Family, and in order to that, let the Imperialiſts do what they would with him. Perhaps he might think, when his own turns were ſerved, to give the King ſatisfaction afterwards; as it may ſeem by what (*h*) one ſays, that when the Sentence was paſt, he ſuſpended the Execution of it till the end of *September* next. But he died (*i*) before that time, and ſo his Sentence continued in force.

[g] L. *Herbert.* p. 406.

[h] *Bzovius* ann. 1534. 7.

[i] 1534. *Sept.* 26.

The next Pope that came after him did not approve what he had done; for to uſe his own (*k*) words he had urged him to *right the King in his Divorce*, and would have perſwaded the Emperour to have born it patiently. But as then he could not prevail on that ſide, ſo now he came too late to be heard on the other. For on the (*l*) day

Paul III.

[k] L. *Herb.* p. 451.

[l] *Novem.* 3.

of

of his Coronation at *Rome* the Parliament met here in *England* that made the Act of Supremacy. The edge of which Law falling ſeverely on the
[m] L. *Herb.* Ibid. Friends of the Papacy, even while (*m*) the Pope was offering at a reconciliation; he was thereby
[n] 1535 *Aug.* 30. L. *Herb.* P. 394. provoked to (*n*) curſe the King afreſh, by a Bull which yet was not publiſhed till ſome years after.
[o] 1538. *Dec.* 17. L. *Herb.* and *Labbe.* When the King having preſumed to Un-ſaint *Thomas Becket*, the Pope (*o*) thereupon pronounced him no King, which made the breach quite unreconcileable.

I have given ſo large account of this matter, becauſe it is brought into common diſcourſe; and as it is told, ſerves to blacken many other, beſide the King who was only or chiefly concerned in it. Otherwiſe it would ſerve for our preſent occaſion, to ſhow, (which I think I have ſufficiently done,) that he had cauſe to Appeal from the Pope to a Council, that he did Appeal in due form of Law, and proſecuted it with great Moderation; which was enough to acquit him from Schiſm, as far as we are concerned in it: That on the other hand the Pope rejected his Appeal, to the affront of that Supreme Tribunal among Chriſtians; and not only proceeded againſt the Appellant, in which caſe the Appellant might, and ought, to reſiſt him; but he alſo took a courſe that the caſe ſhould never be otherwiſe. For whereas the Pope aſſumes to himſelf the only power to call Councils, and whereas there had been none in Ten years, to ſay no more, and therefore a Council ought to have been then according to the Canons; yet the Pope would have no Council, then, nor afterwards, till he

he had tried all other ways to destroy both the King and his Kingdom. L. *Herb.* p. 489.

When at last, after many years talk and deliberation, a Council was called, that at *Trent*, which pretends to be a General Council; it was such as the King could not think himself bound to acknowledge, nay he was bound to oppose it, as well for his own preservation, as to maintain the Common Right of Christians, according to the Principles then received in the Western Church.

By his Appeal, he was not bound to submit to any other than he expressed in it, that is, a Lawful General Council. Such the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil* were then generally acknowledged to have been. And it was the cry of the Western Church, as well in this as the foregoing Ages, for such *a Council*, as those were, *to reform abuses as well in the Head as in the Members.* But the Head was as it would be; and therefore, being to chuse, would take no Physick to cure it self. This was visible in the Popes extreme averseness to a Council; till he saw that, without it, the Nations were likely to Reform themselves. Then he began to think it needful to call one himself. But at first he named no time or place. Then he named first one Town, and then another. When men began to think he was in earnest, (for they had been often fooled with reports,) the King declared he would not own a Council called by the Popes single Authority. It was the Judgment of the Church of *England* that he ought not to own it; for so their Synod declared, *that neither the Bishop of* Rome, *nor any one Prince whatsoever, may by his own Authority* 1536. *July* 20. L. *Herb.* p. 472. 472.

Marius de Schism. & Conc. part 3. c. 16.

Pallav. hist. III. 12. 5. *Stow* Chron. 1533. *May. Mantua, Vicenza.*

Authority call a General Council without the expreſs conſent of the reſidue of Chriſtian Princes. When afterwards it appeared that the Pope was intent upon it, the King, on the ſame grounds, made his
1537. *Mar.* 25. L. *Herb.* p. 489. publick Proteſtation; ſhewing that *the Indiction of a Council belonged not to the Biſhop of* Rome, *but to the Emperour and Princes which ſhould ſend or come*
1538. *April* 8. L. *Herb.* p. 502. *thither.* The like Proteſtation he ſent abroad into all forein Countries. And he afterward made it good, by not ſending one Biſhop to the Council
Rich. Pates Titular Biſhop of *Worceſter*, L. *Herb.* p. 609. when it met; though one of his Subjects was there, whom the Pope was pleaſed to make a Biſhop with a Title in this Kingdom.

Having thus no obligation to own this for a General Council; he was therefore obliged to oppoſe it, as being the Mockery and Abuſe of that Supreme Judicatory, joyned with the defrauding all Chriſtians of their right in it, and particularly himſelf of the benefit of his Appeal to it. Which things he ought to have conſidered, had it been held in the moſt innocent manner. But much more being held as it was, with moſt apparent deſign, to eſtabliſh thoſe abuſes which all *Chriſtendome* cried out to have reformed, to deprive the diffuſive Church of that which was the only remedy for them, to bring it to paſs that there ſhould be no more General Council, as now we ſee there is like to be none while the world ſtands; particularly as to himſelf he had cauſe to oppoſe *the Trent Council*, as far as he was able. For it was
* L. *Herbert.* p. 451, 452. originally *deſigned to pleaſe the Emperour; and thereby to oblige him to head the Party of Chriſtian Princes, whom the Pope was then uniting

uniting to make War againſt *England*. And as that Council was framed in all its circumſtances, the King could conſider it no otherwiſe than he did the Pope himſelf, who was his open and implacable Enemy: For as the Pope called it by his ſingle Authority, ſo he always preſided in it by his Legates. He had it filled with his Creatures, Italians, and others, who were ſure to carry every thing by their Number. And yet for fear they ſhould forget themſelves, every thing muſt be examined at *Rome*, before it could paſs through their hands. And being paſt, yet it was of no force till it had the Pope's Approbation. By which means he made himſelf ſo far Lord of this Council, that though perhaps he could not paſs whatſoever he pleaſed, yet nothing could paſs that ſhould diſpleaſe him in it. And leaſt, by taking all this care, the Pope might ſeem to intend no more but only to ſecure himſelf, without doing the King a farther injury; there was one thing which made it appear that he had as great a mind to plague the King as to provide for his own preſervation. For among all his number of Cardinals he could find none fitter to preſide in the Council, and there to judge the King's cauſe, (if he were ſo unwiſe as to ſend it thither) than one that was the King's Enemy more than the Pope himſelf, if it were poſſible. That was (*a*) Cardinal *Pool*, the King's unnatural Subject and Kinſman; who being (*b*) ***brought up by him***, and ſent to travel for his farther improvement, and, while he was abroad, being (*c*) intruſted by him in his cauſe, forſook it, and joined himſelf to

[a] L. *Hen.* p. 584, and 595.
[b] B. *Tonſtal's* Letter in *Foxes* Acts, *&c.* II. 347. 60. *Edit.* 1641.
[c] *Sand. de Schiſm.* p. 53. L. *Herb.* p. 329.

to the Imperial party. In which, though he might pretend that he followed his Conſcience, yet nothing could excuſe him for practiſing againſt his King and his Country. He was the man employed to (*d*) write againſt the King's Divorce; and out-did other Writers in this, that he (*e*) ſtirred up the Emperour to revenge his Aunts injury, for fear he ſhould forget it; and not only ſo, but (*f*) *went about from Prince to Prince, and from Country to Country to ſtir them up to War againſt this Realm.* For which ſo unworthy and ſo officious a diſloyalty, he was (*g*) declared Traitor at home by Act of Parliament, and (*h*) had a price ſet upon his Head; not to mention other inſtances of the King's extreme diſpleaſure againſt him. When this had ſo far endeared him to the Pope, that being not content to have made him one of his Cardinals, he muſt alſo have this man to preſide in his Council; the *Engliſh* had ſo much the more cauſe to be jealous, and to ſtand upon their guard, as well againſt his Council as himſelf.

A General Council they could not hold it to be, for their Church was not allowed to have any Right in it. Though ſhe had not loſt her Right, any otherwiſe, than as being cut off by the Pope's uncanonical Cenſures; againſt which ſhe was relievable on her Appeal thither, if that had truly been a General Council. And the Biſhops whom ſhe ſhould ſend to repreſent her in ſuch a Council had as much to do there (precedence only

d *Sand. de Schiſm.* p. 55.

e L. *Herbert.* p. 418. v. *Poli Orat. ad Imp.*

f B. *Tonſtal* Ib. II. 345. 10. in his printed Sermon. Ibid. 341. 46.

g L. *Herbert.* p. 511.

h *Labbe* Chro. *Anno* 1537.

only excepted) as the Pope himself had, according to the ancient Canons. But now, as matters were ordered at *Trent*, if she had sent any thither and if they had been admittable otherwise, yet they must not sit there without owning the Pope in his Legate. They must not only be joyned into one Body with him, but they must acknowledge him for their representative Head, who yet to them was no other than a man dead in Law. For they knew him to be condemned for a Traytor, by that Authority to which they were Subjects, as well at *Trent* as in *England*. And though the Popes placing him there in that Character was the highest Affront that could be done to the Justice of their Nation; yet they must submit, nay, contribute to that Affront, by owning him in that Character, or else they must have no place in that Council. This Contumelious Condition being implicitly imposed on our Bishops, was a virtual Exclusion of them from their Right of sitting there. And it was so contrived, that it lookt as ill upon the State as on the Church.

The King was not only concerned for both these, but also for Himself on another account; having his Cause to be heard there, if it had been a General Council. It was an Injury to him all this while, that he had None, so long after his Appeal to it. But now to make him amends, he had a Council pack'd by his Adversary; and if that were not enough, he had this Traiterous Subject in the Head of it. Which last thing went beyond all former Trials of his Patience, and perhaps had been enough to have angered the meekest

of Princes. If it be an ill thing to have ones Judge choſen by his Enemy, it is worſe to have his Enemy be his Judge. He had both in this Council, as the Pope had ordered it for him. Therefore as he could not be Canonically obliged to ſtand by it, ſo he did but uſe his own Right, as before in Proteſting, ſo now in Declaring againſt it. He did it on all Occaſions, and continued ſo doing till his Death.

His Son *Edward* VI, who reigned next, kept the Pope at his diſtance; and had many things reformed in the Church, of which I ſhall not ſpeak particularly, becauſe, all that he did of this kind was ſoon after undone by his Succeſſour Queen *Mary*. She, for reaſons that I mentioned (*i*) before, reſtored the Pope's Authority in this Kingdom. And, though his Council of *Trent* was all her time in adjournment, ſo that ſhe could not ſend her Biſhops thither, yet ſhe had it acknowledged by them in a (*k*) Synod, where Cardinal *Pool* (being firſt reſtord in bloud) had the honour to preſide as his Legate.

i Pag. 85.

k Pag. 8, 9.

But as to the Schiſm between us and the *Roman* Church, both theſe Princes were unconcerned in the Original cauſe of it, which was (as I have ſhewn) the Popes Sentence concerning their Fathers Marriage. For *Edward* VI. was born to him by another Wife, whom he had married after *Katharines* death. And Queen *Mary*, being his Daughter by *Katharine*, was not aggrieved by the Sentence, but on the contrary held her ſelf righted by it. The only Perſon aggrieved was Queen *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of *Henry* VIII. by *Anne Bolen*; whoſe Marriage the Pope had (*l*) declared to

l *Sand. de Schiſ.* p. 68. b.

be

be Null, and pronounced any fruit that ſhould come of it to be Illegitimate. This Queen being the only fruit of that Marriage, the Sentence was injurious to her, if to any. And whether ſhe was wrong'd in it or no, it ought to have been tried before a *Lawful General Council*, to whoſe Judgement her Father had Appealed, as has been (*m*) already ſhewn. And there being no ſuch Council held in his life time, the right of his Appeal deſcended to her at his death. She was now the only party concerned in the Cauſe, and her Right could not be given from her by any other. She was as much concerned, as ever her Father was, to be heard by the Judge to whom He had Appealed; and to be Righted againſt the Pope, if it ſhould appear that he had injured her; and alſo againſt his Council of *Trent*, which abetted him in it. And ſhe had as much Reaſon as ever her Father had, to diſobey and to reſiſt both the Pope and his Council, till they would ſuffer ſuch a Council to meet as was the only proper Judge of her Cauſe.

(m) Pa. 57, 58.

Thus far all that has been ſaid of her Father, except only in things of Perſonal concernment, is as Applicable to her. And more needs not be ſaid, to ſhew that they were neither of them guilty of Schiſm, in aſſerting their Cauſe, as they did, againſt the Adverſaries of it. For therein they did no more than what they lawfully might, and ought to do, according to the Principles of the Weſtern Church.

But there was ſomething in her Caſe, which was not in her Fathers, and which would have cleared her

her of Schism, though he had been guilty of it. For whereas, when he rejected the Pope and his Council, he was wholly of their mind in all the Articles of Faith then in being; She did it, not till the Council had sate, and till they had already made sundry new Articles of Faith. Whereof the first were defined (*n*) some months before her Father died. However he might like them, as they presume he did, who (*o*) tell us that he died in their Faith; yet it is certain that (though at some time she did not shew it,) she did always dislike them, her Enemies being Judges. And as soon as she came into Power, she declared, they were so far from being any part of her Faith, that she took them for no other than False and Novel opinions. If she mistook in so judging, which shall be considered in its place, then she was at least materially an Heretic. And such he must prove her to have been that will make her a Schismatick. For if she was in the right, and those Doctrines were not of Faith, then the Schism occasioned by them must not lie at her door. It must be charged on the Council who defined them, and on the Pope who added them to the Creed, who made the belief and profession of these Doctrines, a condition without which there is no living in his Communion. She did what she ought to do, in refusing to have it on those terms, in adhering to *the Faith once delivered to the Saints*, and in rejecting the Authority which would have it defiled with those Mixtures.

What has been said may suffice to clear Queen *Elizabeth* from the Imputation of Schism, on any Personal

(*n*) *Conc. Trid. Sess.* 4. An. 1546. *April* 8.

(*o*) *Supra* p. 91. *Sand. de Schis.* p. 139.

Perſonal account, in not obeying the Pope or his Council. It appears that ſhe was free from Schiſm in that matter; as well *in Foro Eccleſiæ*, having the Canonical right of an Appeal againſt them; as *in Foro Conſcientiæ*, becauſe what ſhe did, was to keep her Faith pure from their undue Impoſitions.

Whether ſhe can be cleared as well on the account of her Government in Eccleſiaſtical matters, this we ought to conſider as a thing that more immediately concerns us. For we date the Reformation of our Church from the beginning of her Reign. And though we have a Preſcription ſince, of above a hundred years; which is enough to ſecure us againſt the Claims of the Papacy, in the Judgment of them that hold it to be only of Humane Right, as all men ought to do upon thoſe grounds above mentioned; yet, to them of the Roman Communion, it will perhaps be more ſatisfactory, if it appear, that beſide the Right that we have now from Preſcription, there was alſo an Original Right in our Reformers to do what they did in the beginning of the Reformation.

The firſt thing they did, was to aſſert the Queens Supremacy; from whence they proceeded to ſettle the Church Government; and ended with the Reformation of Worſhip and Doctrine.

1. Firſt, of what ſhe did in aſſuming the *Supremacy*, more needs not be ſaid than to make it be underſtood. And we cannot underſtand her meaning in it better than by her own declaration and practice. She (*p*) declared that ſhe took no other power to her ſelf, than *what Anciently belonged to the*

(*p*) *Camd. Eliz.* p. 39. 40.

the Crown of England, that is, *immediately under God to govern her people of all ſorts, as well the Clergy as the Laity.* And ſhe exerciſed no other Power or Juriſdiction over the Church than what was meerly External, as appears (*q*) by her Injunctions and other Acts. Though if ſhe had exerciſed any other power than what ſhe claimed, it had been only an Act of Miſgovernment in her, for which ſhe was accountable to God; and the Church had not therefore been guilty of Schiſm, ſince it (*r*) gave her no other power, nor owned her in the exerciſe of any other, than what is abovementioned. And that power is ſo inherent in every Supreme Magiſtrate, and ſo neceſſary for the well-being of the People, that we cannot deny the right of it in them to whom we grant the Supreme Magiſtracy it ſelf.

(*q*) V.B. *Sparrow's* Collection.

(*r*) XXXIX Articles. *Art.* 37.

Whereſoever any Prince or State have ſeemed to think ſo ill of themſelves as if they were not ſo fit, as a Foreiner was, to be truſted with this Power over their own People; or rather where they have been ſo obſequious to the Pope as to take this Flower out of their own Crown and put it into the Triple: It may be every where obſerved, that either they or their Succeſſors have found occaſion, at ſome time or other, to call for it home again, or to uſe it as if they had not given it from themſelves. We may ſee examples of this, in *Germany* in *Ockham's* days, in *Spain* under the Emperour *Charles* V, and in *Venice* at the time of the Interdict. But eſpecially in *France*; where the *Gallican* Church is obliged to juſtifie this Right of Princes, unleſs ſhe will grant that her moſt Chriſtian Kings

Kings have been in Schism, more than once, and especially, while they stood to the pragmatic Sanction.

But we need not go abroad for examples, having so many at home, and such as are very full to our purpose. He that will, may see them (*s*) elsewhere gathered to his hand. And I have (*t*) mentioned enough to shew that even in Popish times our Princes were not ignorant of their Right, and that between whiles they were fain to assert it, in such terms as did import, though they did not name, a Supremacy. But as their Laws did not expressly mention the word, so neither did they always stand by their Laws. When they had made them, the Pope still found some device or other to make them ineffectual. Till King *Henry* VIII. having thrown out the Pope, for those reasons above mentioned; did by (*u*) advice of his Council and Bishops, take both the Power and the Title on himself; whether he took more than his due, let others judge. As I am not engaged to defend all that he assumed, so I need not, for so much as Queen *Mary* exercised of it. For it is agreed, (and there was great (*x*) reason for it,) that she was always (*y*) for the Popes Supremacy in her heart, (though for fear of her life she (*z*) renounced it when time was.) And yet she no sooner came to the Crown, but she exercised the Supremacy her self, in changing most (*a*) of the Bishops, and Reforming (*b*) what she held to be Abuses in the Church. Afterward when she had surrendred it to the Pope, yet she did not so wholly put it out of her self, but that, when He displeased

(*s*) See Sir *Roger Twisden*'s Collection of them in his *Vindication*.
(*t*) *Supra* p. 18, 45.
(*u*) L. *Herbert*. P. 408.
(*x*) *Supra* p. 45.
(*y*) *Sand. de Schism.* p. 134.
(*z*) *Camd. Eliz.*
(*a*) She puts out thirteen Bishops.
(*b*) *Fox* Acts and Mon. 1280. 60. 1282. 50. and 1332. 20, 80.

displeased her, she could (c) shut his Legate out of her Kingdom. So that to adjust the matter between the two Sisters, in this point of Supremacy, they seem to have differed only thus: One adjudged it to the Pope, and yet took it from him when she pleased; the other thought it belonged to the Crown, and therefore kept it wholly to her self.

c *Full.* Church Hist. l 8 §. 3. n. 41. & *Pallavic. Hist. Conc. Trid.* XV. 7. 1, 2

2. What Queen *Elizabeth* did in setling Church matters, was founded on her Right in the Supremacy. By vertue whereof, she took upon her to Reform abuses in the Church, as her Sister Queen *Mary* had done. And I believe that whosoever compares their proceedings, will find, that she took more leisure and advice than Queen *Mary*, in doing it. For before a Parliament (d) sate, she had gone only thus (e) far, that she allowed her people some of the Church Offices in a Language which they all understood. Afterward by advice of her Parliament (f) she restored King *Edwards* Laws, and repealed those which had been made by Queen *Mary* for Ecclesiastical matters. And by those Laws she abolished the Popish Mass, and restored the whole Communion to the Laity; whereas her Sister had done the contrary, (g) without Law, by her mere Right of Supremacy. Which Right she having afterwards given away by Act of Parliament, (though still she used it when she saw cause,) Queen *Elizabeth* thought fit to have it restored by Act of Parliament; (or rather *Re-declared*, for the Act (h) was not Operative but Declarative.) And whereas by this Act it was required, that all Bishops, and others that held any

d 1559. *Jan.* 23

e *Camd. Eliz.* p. 39.

f Ibid. p. 25.

g *V. Supra.*

h V. Bramhall's Vindication. p. 86.

Church-

Church-living in this Kingdom, ſhould take an Oath of Supremacy, as we call it, or elſe ſhould be uncapable of holding any ſuch Church preferment: on refuſal of this Oath there were turned out thirteen Biſhops. I note the number, the rather, becauſe there had been juſt ſo many of the Proteſtant Biſhops turned out by Queen *Mary*. There appears to have been ſome difference between the turning out, of theſe by Law, and of thoſe without any Law then in force. But there was more in the cauſe of their ſuffering; thoſe being outed for matters purely Religious, and theſe for a Civil cauſe, for refuſing an Oath lawfully impoſed. Which Oath did not truly concern their Religion, even themſelves being Judges. For they had all, or moſt of them, (*i*) taken it before; ſome of them had taken it many times over; two or three of them had writ in defence of it, nay, were at the firſt compoſing of it. But there was a greater difference than either of theſe, if the Biſhops, then turned out by Queen *Elizabeth*, had been moſt of them Canonically deprived under King *Edward* VI, and were never ſince Canonically reſtored, which may deſerve a further Conſideration. The mean while it is certain that this Act outed not (*k*) two hundred more of all the Clergy in this Kingdom. And their places being filled with ſuch as had been baniſhed in Queen *Maries* days, it is not hard to judge how all things elſe to be done in Church matters might paſs any Obſtruction, as they did, afterwards in full Convocation.

(i) *Camd. Eliz.* p. 41. *Bonner, Tonſtal, and Thurlby.*

(k) *Camd. Eliz.* p. 36.

3. As to Doctrinal things, it was generally obſerved in thoſe times, by the Advantage of

Eccleſiaſtical learning, that in thoſe many former Ages which wanted it, many errors, and ſome very groſs ones, had crept into the Church. And thoſe errors, having the Papacy on their ſide, for (*l*) Reaſons which I have already ſhewn, had ſo far prevailed, that they were growing to be Articles of Faith. Many of them were already defined ſo, and more were like to be by the Council of *Trent*. Therefore now the Church of *England*, being free from the Yoke of the Papacy, and having an Abſolute Power to act for her ſelf, thought fit to uſe the Right of a National Church, that is, to Reform her ſelf by declaring againſt thoſe errors, and to rid Chriſtianity from them here in *England*, without taking upon her to preſcribe to other Churches. And withal ſhe thought it needful to ſet ſuch bounds to the Reformation, that men might not, by their heats againſt Popery, be tranſported ſo far as to run into contrary errors. For theſe cauſes that famous Summary of Chriſtian Doctrines, which we call the XXXIX *Articles*, was drawn up, and approved by (*m*) Convocation.

[l] *Supra*, p. 6, 7.

[m] *Anno* 1562.

The Compiling and Publiſhing of theſe Articles was properly the Act of the Church of *England*. And theſe Articles being many of them oppoſed to thoſe Doctrines which the Roman Church holds to be of Faith, and being either *in Terminis*, or at leaſt in the ſenſe of them, the ſame which their *Trent* Council hath branded with Hereſie; it is therefore evident that, upon the account of theſe Doctrines, neither the Queen nor Church of *England* can be juſtly charged with Schiſm,

Schism, unless the Doctrines themselves are first proved to be Heretical, as they are judged by those decrees of the *Trent* Council.

For the trial of these Doctrines, they will not allow our Church that resort which she would make immediately to the Scriptures. And we cannot go along with the Roman Church whither she would have us; that is, to the Council of *Trent*, or, which is all one to the judgment of their present Church. Therefore there is no possible way to end disputes, but by some known equal Standard between us. And that can be no other than *Catholic Tradition*. Which they of the *Roman* side cannot well decline; for it is that from which the Council of *Trent* has (*n*) pretended to receive all her Doctrines. Nor have we any cause to decline it; for the Primitive Fathers, who were the Original Conveighers of this Tradition, did profess to know no other Faith than what was contained in the Scriptures.

(*n*) *Conc. Trident.* Sess. 4.

Why we cannot stand to the judgment of the Council of *Trent* for the trial of our Doctrines, we have all the same Reasons that they have in the French Church, why they reject it in matters of Discipline. That is, if they deny it to have the Authority of a General Council; the English, though of their Communion, may as well deny it to have Infallibility. Nay, much more this than the other. For we may give to whom we please an Authority over us; but we cannot give Infallibility to any, but to them to whom God has promised it, that is, if to any Council, to such a one as represents the whole diffusive Church. And we

have

have one reason more than the French have, and which signifies more than all theirs, to shew that, though they did, yet, we ought not to look upon this as such a Council. For the French Church was represented at *Trent*, in some sort, though they were not at all satisfied with it; but Ours neither was Represented, nor could be, (as I have shewn,) neither after nor before the Reformation.

[a] *Cressy's* Ep. Apol. n. 132.

And though (as it is (*o*) said) the French have since received the Doctrinal Decrees of that Council; that is, they have allowed them to be Antecedently true, in those Terms in which the Council defined them, though not a whit the more true for having been defined in that Council; ours cannot pretend that here in *England* it ever had so much as that lowest Degree of Reception.

Before the Reformation of which we now speak, that is, before the beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* reign, the Council of *Trent* had sate not much more than half its Sessions. And though it was quoted with respect by the Synod of (*p*) *London* in Queen *Marys* days, yet it does not appear that there was then any Formal Reception of the Council. Nor if there had been, could that have obliged aftercomers to receive whatsoever should pass afterward in that Council? Thus much, I think, ought to be considered by them (if there be any) that hold themselves obliged by that Synod. But much less would it have signified to our Reformers, who did not hold themselves obliged by that Synod. For beside that they differed in point of Faith,

[p] *Supra*, p. 8, 9.

they

they had other Canonical Objections against it: That it was composed of Bishops who had been Deprived (as was said,) in King *Edwards* days, and had not been duly Restored since, for ought that appears. And it was Headed by the Popes Legate, in that Quality, as representing Him against whom they had an Appeal yet in force. Now to him that considers the Case in these Circumstances, it cannot seem reasonable, that King *Edwards* Bishops should have thought themselves obliged by the Synodical Act of them that sate there in their Injury; or that they, who adhered to their Appeal from the Pope, should be concluded by any thing that passed under his Legate.

Since the Reformation, it cannot be imagined that the Council of *Trent* should be received, here in *England*, by any other than by them of the Roman Communion. And whether they have Received it, or no, they best know. But if they have, it must be their own voluntary Act; for no power whatsoever could oblige them to receive it. If any could, it must be, either the Council it self, or the Pope by his Universal Authority. But for the Popes Power, they understand themselves so well, that they know he cannot oblige them to the reception of a Council. For he cannot bring them under what Government he pleases; I say, not without their own Consent; as they have judged, and shewed it by their practice. When he impowered an Archpriest to govern them, the Seculars would not receive him. And when he would have placed a Bishop over them, the Regu-

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lars would not receive him. So the Seculars and Regulars, as it were with one consent, have given us their Judgment in the Case; and that by no Indeliberate Act on either hand, for they contended about it a great part of the last Age. And therefore, unless their Principles are altered since, the same Right which they exercised in not submitting to a Government, they may exercise as well in not receiving a Council, though the Pope should presume to impose it. And that the Council, of it self, has no power to oblige them, it appears in that judged case of the *Egyptian* Church. The Bishops whereof would not subscribe to a Decree of the (*q*) Fourth General Council, because they had then no Archbishop to give them an Authority for it. This was allowed to be a *Reasonable* excuse, though the Decree, which they were to have subscribed, was in a matter of Faith. I suppose they of the Roman Communion, here in *England*, have had the same Reason ever since the Reformation. They have had no lawful Primate, nor no declared Bishops all this while. And during this imperfect state of their Church, if there had been a General Council, and any of their Clergy had been there, they might have been excused from subscribing, though in matters of Faith. What difference there is in the Case, makes wholly on our side. For there is a wide difference indeed between Subscribing and Receiving. The first is only the declaring ones own personal assent to the Decrees of any Council; the other is to give them the force of Laws in the National Church. And if (according to that Canon,) the

(q) *Conc. Chalced.* Can. 30. in the *Codex Canonum Universæ Eccleſiæ*, and in *Binnius* III. p. 447. E. Edit. *Pariſ. An.* 1636

the Biſhops, where they are in a Council, are not bound to ſubſcribe without their Primate; how much leſs can any National Church be Obliged to receive things for Law without her Biſhops; Nay more, how can ſhe Lawfully receive them? Eſpecially, ſuch a Church, as owns there is no Juriſdiction without Biſhops. She cannot do it without a Synod of Biſhops according to the ancient Canons. And therefore the Engliſh Church of Roman Catholics is ſo far from being bound to receive the *Trent* Council, that, in her preſent condition, ſhe could not Lawfully receive it. I ſay ſtill, according to the ancient Canons, which ought to be of ſome force with them of the Roman Communion.

But let them do as they pleaſe. The caſe is plain, that the Reformed Church of *England* ought not to receive it, if ſhe can prove her charge, that that Council has innovated in the Chriſtian Faith; or rather unleſs that Council can diſcharge her ſelf of it, by proving that what we call her New Faith, is not new, but received from Catholick Tradition. We think we are ſure they cannot bring this Tradition for thoſe Doctrines which are laid as Foundations for all the reſt in that Council; namely, their making unwritten Tradition to be of Divine Authority, and therefore equal with the holy Scriptures; their bringing thoſe which we call the Apocryphal Books, into the Canon of Scripture; their making the Vulgar Latine Tranſlation Authentick in all matters of Faith and good life.

For theſe, and all the reſt of their Doctrines of

Faith, as they are called in the Roman Church, which we call Innovations and Errors, We are not afraid to refer our ſelves to Catholic Tradition. If they of the *Roman* ſide would ſubmit to it as well, there would be no difference between us, in matters of Faith, whatſoever there might be in Opinion. And therefore they would have no cauſe in their own private judgment to conclude us for Heretics; much leſs would they find us condemned for ſuch by any competent Judicature.

If they think otherwiſe than we do in this matter, the reaſon muſt be, becauſe they do not mean what we do by Catholic Tradition. It is plain that too many of that Church have a wrong notion of it; taking that for Catholic Tradition, which is only preſumed to be ſo by a Party in theſe latter Ages. For though they call themſelves the Catholic Church, and perhaps really take themſelves to be no other, yet they are but a handful to the body of Chriſtians; eſpecially conſidered in our notion of Catholic, which, as we take it, extends to all the Chriſtians of all Ages. We plainly profeſs to take the Catholic Tradition in that ſenſe of *Vincentius Lyrinenſis*, and before him of *Tertullian* in his Preſcriptions; who make this to be the Standard of all Doctrines of Faith, *quod ſemper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus.* Firſt, that which has gone for Chriſtian Faith in all Ages from the beginning of Chriſtianity. Secondly, which has been taken for ſuch by the whole *diffuſive Church*, comprehending all thoſe particular Churches which have not been Canonically condemned

demned either of Schiſm or Hereſie. And laſtly, that which has not only been the Faith of ſome perſons, though contradicted by others, but that which has been the conſtant belief of the generality in all thoſe Chriſtian Churches. To bring our differences to this ſtandard betwixt us, I conceive that, firſt, they of the Roman Communion will not find ſuch evidence for their Articles of Faith, as they think of, in the Primitive Records. I ſay, ſuch evidence as will make it appear that they were of Faith, antecedently to the Definitions of Councils. They will find that thoſe Councils, which firſt defined them to be of Faith, were not ſuch againſt which we have no juſt exception, nor that their Definitions have been generally received throughout the diffuſive Catholic Church.

For the *Primitive Records*, I ſuppoſe, they of the Roman Church, that have read them, will ſcarce pretend to ſhew how they convey all thoſe Articles to us, as of Faith. And where they fail to ſhew this, of any Article, they muſt excuſe us if we cannot allow it to be a Catholic Tradition. Much more, when we ſhew, from thoſe Records, that there are ſtrong preſumptions to the contrary. Whereof, not to trouble my Reader with more inſtances, I have given ſome (*a*) proof in that which *Bellarmine* calls *Caput Fidei*, namely, in that Doctrine of the Popes Supremacy over all Chriſtians.

(*a*) Pa. 81, &c.

For the *Councils*, by which their new Articles have been defined, the moſt they can rationally pretend to by their Definitions, is, to deliver the

ſenſe of the preſent diffuſive Church. Which they are preſumed to do, when they have power to repreſent it, or when their Decrees are received in all parts of it, and not otherwiſe. But how few of their General Councils can pretend to either of theſe Conditions? It appears, that the Eldeſt of them could not, I mean (*b*) the Second Council of *Nice*, which firſt impoſed the worſhip of Images. For, about thirty years before, there was (*c*) an Eaſtern Council held at *Conſtantinople*, which Condemned that very thing. And, not ten years after, there was (*d*) a Weſtern Council at *Francford*, which condemned this *Nicene* Council for impoſing it. Neither of theſe Councils can be ſaid to have been leſs Orthodox than that Council was, in any point but that which they oppoſed. And their very Oppoſing it ſhews, that, at thoſe times, it was not the ſenſe either of the Eaſtern or of the Weſtern Church. When that Council obtained in the Eaſtern Church, yet ſtill it was oppoſed by the Weſtern; and however there alſo the practice crept in, yet that Council has never been received in the Weſtern Church, as hath been lately proved by a * moſt learned Writer. Nor has Image-worſhip been defined by any other Council, that could be ſaid to Repreſent both the Eaſtern and Weſtern Church.

In all Ages ſince, the Councils which have defined any Articles, have been but Weſtern Councils at beſt, For, though ſome Greek Biſhops were preſent at one or two of them, yet, what they conſented to was never ratified by the Greek Church. And for theſe Weſtern Councils, to give them

(*b*) *Anno* 787. Conc. *Nic.* II. ſaid to be of 350 Biſhops.

(*c*) *Anno* 754. Conc. *Conſt.* of 338 Biſhops.

(*d*) *Anno* 794. Conc. *Frankf.* of about 300.

* Dr. *Stillingfleet* in anſwer to *T. G.* p. 812. to p. 838.

them their due, it was not ſo much their fault, if they lead us into Error, as it is ours, if we follow them in it. For he that reads them, and knows the Hiſtory of their times, will not chuſe them for Guides, if he has any care of that truſt which God has given him of himſelf.

He cannot but ſee, that, bating the three laſt of thoſe Councils, which have not that Authority in the French Church, nor with ſome other of that Communion; all the reſt were held in times of ſuch palpable Ignorance, that when they went amiſs they could not well ſee how to do otherwiſe. Their Biſhops could not but be generally unqualified to judge of matters of Faith. For they had a great want of good Books, and of the Languages in which they were written. I ſpeak of thoſe Books that are now chiefly uſed in all Queſtions of Faith, as well by their as by our Writers. And ſure they that had them not to uſe, could not but be miſerably to ſeek in all thoſe parts of knowledge which are Abſolutely neceſſary for any one that ſhould judge of thoſe matters. Namely, thoſe without which they could not Ordinarily know, neither the true ſenſe of holy Scripture, nor the Judgments of Councils and Fathers, nor the Practice of the Primitive Church. We find by the beſt of their Writers in thoſe times that they were ſo much to ſeek in thoſe moſt needful things, that not a Colledge in either of our Univerſities can be ſaid without ſcandal to know no more in them than one of thoſe Councils.

If inſtead of thoſe laſt we bate four other of their Councils, which are diſowned by the Papalins, for

* *Supra* p. 88. for reaſons which have been already * given; all the reſt were in ſuch Bondage to the Papacy, that they had not the power to do otherwiſe than they did. Their Biſhops, by Pope *Hildebrand*'s device, were all ſworn to maintain the *Royalties of St. Peter*; (*e*) whereof one was, that *the Popes Faith could not fail.* And being aſſured of that, as men ſhould be of things which they ſwear, their wiſeſt courſe, when matters of Faith came before them, was to truſt the Pope's Judgment, and paſs every thing as he brought it to their hands. This way therefore they took, and it ſaved them the trouble of Examination and Debate, and ſuch like *Conciliary* proceedings. It may be worth the obſerving, that in Seven General Councils, which they reckon from the time of Pope *Hildebrand* downward, among the many Doctrines which they are ſaid to have Defined, there is not one that appears to have coſt them any more but the Hearing. The Pope had them brought and read before the Council, as if that was enough to make them their Acts as well as (*f*) His. And this was the conſtant courſe, till the Papacy was weakened by a long and ſcandalous Schiſm; Then thoſe Councils which made themſelves ſuperiour to the Pope, thought fit to uſe their Own Judgment, ſuch as it was; and they proceeded Conciliarly, as Councils had done in former times. Which way being more for the credit of their Definitions, it was continued in thoſe Councils which reſtored the Pope to his Supremacy; with this difference only, that whereas thoſe Seven Councils above-mentioned paſſed all things

e V. *Greg.* VII. *dictata.*

f Hence the Style of thoſe Decrees; *Alex. in Conc. Lateran. Innocent. in Conc. Lateran.* &c.

things in the Lump which the Pope or his Miniſters brought before them; the Councils ſince have paſſed them Piecemeal; with ſome ſhew of uſing their own Judgment in every particular, though in truth with ſo entire a reſignation to the Pope, that nothing could ever paſs againſt his Intereſt, or his will, even when they ſeemed moſt to endeavour it. So that, in all theſe Councils, whatſoever has paſſed in determining Doctrines of Faith, is in truth no more than a Papal Decree, though it bears the name, and perhaps has ſome ſhew of a Councils Definition.

Laſtly, for the Judgment of the Diffuſive Church, we are not ignorant that many of the things thus impoſed, (of which we can find no mention in Antiquity, and which we know were firſt ſtarted long after the beginnings of Chriſtianity) yet have been received as well by Greeks as by the Latines in latter Ages. But, not to ſay by what means they obtained it, we cannot forget what Ages thoſe were, in which theſe things came to gain ſuch an Authority among Chriſtians. They were ſuch as learned men of the Roman Communion, who are acquainted with the Writers of thoſe times, (I ſay as well with the Greek as Latine Writers,) do not at all reverence their Judgments apart, whatſoever they think of them together in Councils. And according to the Rule preſcribed by thoſe *Fathers*, it will not paſs for the Judgment of the Catholic diffuſive Church, though both Greeks and Latines agree in it, and have done ſo for ſome Ages together. There muſt be *ſemper*, as well as *ubique*, and *ab omnibus*. Though

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the two laſt conditions may ſuffice to make us think any Doctrine to be true, or at leaſt the Error in it not to be Damnable; yet to make us believe it is a Doctrine of Faith, there muſt be *ſemper* likewiſe, without which it is no Catholic Tradition.

It is ſurely a great Affront to the Catholic Church, and to the great *Author and finiſher of her Faith*, that, as if that *Faith once delivered* were Inſufficient, there muſt be new things added to it from time to time, by a Succeſſion of men that take upon them to be his *Vicars*, without making out any colourable title to that Office. And, though we find no ſuch things in the Ancient Records of his Church; though we ſee theſe are framed to ſupport the new Authority of thoſe Vicars, and though we know how they abuſed the Ignorance and Tameneſs of many Ages; yet becauſe in thoſe Ages theſe things were generally received, and have mellowed ſome time ſince in the Faith of them that knew no better, they are pleaſed to uſe this as an Argument, not only why others muſt be concluded and bound for ever to ſit down by their Judgment, who had little, and uſed none; but why they muſt alſo receive all things elſe that are impoſed in like manner, under pretence that this is now the Judgment of the Diffuſive Church.

But the caſe is much worſe, theſe new things being impoſed on the Church with a pretence of Infallibility. Which Infallibility being a word of good ſound, ſome that are no Papalins, but hold with them in ſome Doctrines which they cannot well prove otherwiſe, ſtrike in with them at this, though

though the ſound is all that they agree in. For whereas the Papalins mean an Infallibility of Judgment, and place it in the Virtual Church; theſe mean only an Infallibility of Tradition, and that they place in the Diffuſive Church. They would perſuade us that it is a Demonſtrable thing, that thoſe things that are believed, as of Faith, in this Age, could never be otherwiſe. They may as well Demonſtrate, that a Tale does not mend with often telling, or that no change can be made by inſenſible degrees. But the Authors of this being Cenſured at *Rome* for it, we have no more to ſay to them til they make it appear that they are of the Roman Church in ſpite of her Cenſures. For our diſpute is at preſent with them of the Roman Church; who pretend that this Infallibility is in theirs, that is the Virtual Church. They ſay that ſhe has it by virtue of Divine Aſſiſtance; which being either without or above means, it is all one as if they ſaid ſhe has a New Revelation. And one would think that they intended no other who founded their Definitions on Miracles. Now if they can prove that any ſuch Aſſiſtance was promiſed to the Virtual Church, and if they can prove that they are the Church to whioh thoſe promiſes were made; or if they can prove their Credentials to be the ſame that Chriſt gave to his Apoſtles; then we muſt grant that we are out, in denying this Infallibility. Otherwiſe they muſt grant that their virtual Church might be miſtaken. And if ſhe might, we have reaſon to think that ſhe was ſo in theſe matters. And if it is but colourably ſaid, that ſhe was miſtaken in matters of ſo very

great moment, there is reaſon to think that thoſe matters are fit for a Review. To which the Greeks may ſubmit, and ſo may all other Chriſtians that differ among themſelves; but they of the Roman Church cannot, while they keep up their claim to Infallibility.

If we muſt (as the Roman Court will have it) be called Heretics for not ſubmitting to new Revelation, we cannot help it. Nor need we much trouble our ſelves. For we know we are no Hereticks by any Law Divine or Humane, except thoſe which this new Power has made to fence in its new Doctrines. And we know they cannot, with any colour of Reaſon from Catholic Tradition, think us Heretics themſelves, while we hold to the Poſitive Doctrines of our Church. So that when they are pleaſed to give us this Title, we can take their meaning to be only this: They declare us to be, as indeed we are, the Enemies of that Monarchy to which they would enthral the whole Church of Chriſt; They do as good as tell us what we are to expect for this, if ever (for our ſins) God ſhould ſuffer us to fall into their hands; They would have their people hate us the mean while, and avoid all communication with us, for fear they ſhould come to know how we are wronged in this matter.

This appears to be the ſenſe and deſign of the Intereſted men. And yet we doubt not there are many others among them, who either have no ſuch Intereſt, or who will not give themſelves to be led by it. We have reaſon to believe this, partly from what we obſerve at this preſent, and much more

more from what we read of former times. Of all Nations that continue in the Roman Communion, the more any have flouriſhed in Learning and Civility, the more free they have kept themſelves from all that which is properly Popery: while the more Ignorant, and therefore more Superſtitious Nations, are ſo fond of it, that, for want of this, they will ſcarce allow the other to be Catholics. But for Proteſtants, whom the other can endure to live among them, though perhaps in no deſirable condition; Theſe will not allow them to live in their Country, unleſs that may be called Living, when men are buried alive in the Inquiſition.

So it may be obſerved among Perſons of that Communion. The moſt buſie and impoſing, the moſt fierce and untreatable Bigots, are commonly they that ſcarce underſtand their own Prayers. Learned men either have not thoſe heats, or elſe govern them better. Unleſs they be ſuch as are engaged to the Papacy by preferment, or by the hopes of it, or by the Vows of their Orders; or perhaps ſuch as having forſaken our Church, will not allow us to Queſtion either their Wiſdom or their Honeſty in it. We are not ordinarily to expect ſo much as common Civility from ſuch men. But they that have no particular Quarrel againſt us, and are otherwiſe of a Candid and Ingenuous temper; eſpecially when they have Learning with it, as not a few have, and would to God there were more in the Roman Church; Theſe men being not averſe from inquiring into Truth, nor from receiving it when it is brought before them,

if they do not ſee how they can prove us Heretics, and that their Proof is as ſtrong and clear as the Charge is heavy, they will not think it a ſufficient Reaſon to call us ſo becauſe others have done it. Nor will they think fit to debar us the common Right of all Chriſtians, that is, to be heard what we can ſay for our ſelves: And that either before a competent Judicature, if it may be had; or if that cannot be, yet at leaſt by all them that will judge of us.

I know no reaſon to doubt, that if all of them knew but ſo much of our Church as has been ſaid, and if they conſidered it with that Impartiality which we ought to expect from ſuch men, it would work ſome good effect in no ſmall number of them in that Communion. And that effect would appear upon ſuch a Review as I have mentioned; I mean, that we ſhould have Right done us in a free General Council, if the Pope would permit it to be held in our Age, or rather if all Chriſtian Princes would agree to call it themſelves, and not wait for His time, which will be never.

But though he will not ſuffer this Reaſon to be done us abroad, where it ſhould be in a Common Aſſembly of Chriſtians; yet he cannot hinder us from having it at home, at leaſt in the private Judgment of them that do not fear his Cenſures. I have ſhewn that this is like to be the fruit of a Diſcrimination. It will try who they are. And for them chiefly I intended this Digreſſion. In which I have been the more large, becauſe I think it no Digreſſion, but rather the beſt *way for the ſuppreſſing of Popery in this Kingdom*, to get our Church

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to be better understood by all among us of that Communion. And surely, if they did rightly understand it, wise men would consider how they made themselves guilty of Heresie and Schism by unjustly charging us with those crimes. How of *Heresie*, by joyning with them that have made such Additions to the Faith: And of *Schism*, in charging us with Heresie for not receiving those Additions; and thereupon separating themselves from our Communion. They that shall be convinced of their danger in both these, will endeavour to avoid it, by relinquishing that Forein Power, which they can think themselves no way obliged to, if they better consider it. And finding themselves free from any such obligation, I do not see what should hinder them from joyning themselves to that National Church in which God has sufficiently provided all things necessary for their Salvation.

Though if they stay where they are, it may perhaps be better for Us upon Politic accounts; which I add as my last instance of the Benefit that we may expect from this Discrimination.

It would be no small Benefit to us, if such men continuing in the Roman Communion would but keep the Popish Party from being more united, and more active against us. And thus much they would do for us, though they did not intend it. But they will do much more, and that with full Intention, unless their Opposition to us weigh more with them than their care of themselves. For they will find themselves Obliged, if they consider it, as well in Duty as Interest, and no less obliged

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both ways then we are, to keep out the Forein Power from coming in among us. Their obligation in Conſcience will be the ſame that ours is, and ſo much more if they are bound to it by Oath, whatſoever the Oath ſhall be, that is deſigned for their Diſcrimination. And as to Intereſt, it will be much more theirs than it is ours, to keep out the Common Enemy, that will be heavy to us both, but much heavier to them than to us. For as they are fewer in Number, ſo they are better known in their Perſons, and therefore the more eaſie to be found out. And being found; if ever that day ſhould come, which God avert; though we muſt look to feel Rods, they are ſure to be puniſhed with Scorpions. The provocation which they have given already has been more than moſt of us have been able to give: And when we are gone, if they continue, the Roman Court having no other Adverſaries, would be the more intent and the more able to root them out of the Kingdom. I do not ſay this to waken them that are moſt concerned to think of it; for I ſuppoſe they cannot ſleep, having ſo great a Danger before their eyes. And if they ſhould happen to forget themſelves, they would be wakened by thoſe Cenſures of which enough has been ſpoken already. It is at preſent more needful to make our own People (who do not ſo well underſtand the Common Adverſary, as not having had the ſame Experience of him,) to be ſenſible how much they are concerned not to loſe any Help that can be had. And therefore that it is our Intereſt as well as theirs, to preſerve ſuch a Party of uſeful men, and to oblige them to joyn with

Pag. 78, 80.

with us againſt him. Which can be done no other way but by a Diſcrimination.

I cannot think there is any Proteſtant among us, who will not for theſe, or other the like, Conſiderations, think fit to uſe the Moderation here propoſed, and endeavour to promote it in others as far as he is able. Unleſs he may perhaps be diſcouraged by ſome other Conſiderations, that may make it ſeem not ſo Practicable as it were to be deſired. For if it can be put in practice, I think no wiſe and good man, having weighed the reaſons here given, will deny that it ought to be; and that as well in Prudence, as in Juſtice, to preſerve both Church, and State, and whatſoever is dear to us in this Nation.

Objections againſt the practicableneſs of this Diſcrimination.

The things chiefly alledged againſt the Practicableneſs of it, are theſe that follow. I ſhall firſt name them, and then conſider the Conſequence of them. Firſt, It is alledged that all they of the Roman Church are obliged by their Principles to follow the Judgment of the Roman Court: And that they Actually follow it, in thoſe very things which are *Popery* in the proper ſignification. Secondly, If any of them deny this, or declare and promiſe the contrary, we can have no Aſſurance of what they ſay; they have ſo many ways to elude all ſuch Promiſes and Declarations; eſpecially being made to *Hereticks*, as they are taught to call us. Thirdly, Though we have a ſufficient aſſurance of any perſons at preſent, that they are No *Papiſts*, yet while they are of that Communion, they are in a continual danger to be ſeduced, or change their minds; and whenſoever that happens, (as it may before we are aware of it,)

it,) they will be able to do us the more hurt, through our relying on the ſecurity which they have given us.

I confeſs there is a force in theſe Objections, which I cannot ſo well avoid, but that they who are chiefly concerned to have them anſwered may ſuſpect that I uſe ſome kind of Prevarication; becauſe I do not anſwer them their way, or not ſay all that they think their Cauſe will bear. To ſecure my ſelf againſt that moſt odious Imputation; I do in the firſt place declare that I ſhall omit nothing which I think to be material, though I do not pretend to ſay all they have to ſay for themſelves. And then for their Way of anſwering: If they think they can Juſtifie themſelves againſt the charge that is implied in thoſe mentioned Allegations, and that they can thereby entitle themſelves as well to Truſt as to Protection; I confeſs this is more than I can do for them. And therefore I take ſo much lower; Endeavouring to excuſe the perſons as far as they are capable to be excuſed from thoſe things which are not to be Juſtified in their Cauſe; and ſince the Law has excluded them from Truſt, for ſuch Reaſons as cannot but continue as long as the eſtabliſhed Religion, I ſhall yet endeavour to ſhew that they ſafely may and ought to have Protection, while they give ſuch aſſurance of their Loyalty as they are capable to give, and no otherwiſe.

I ſhall do it with much the more eaſe, having the matter prepared to my hand in a Book *that was publiſhed about two years ſince, to this purpoſe. Where the Objections being proved as to matter

* Conſiderations of preſent Concernment. 1675.

matter of Fact, and the Inferences drawn with great evidence and ſtrength; if I ſhould not extract enough to ſatisfie the Reader in either kind I ſhall however ſatisfie my ſelf, that I have made him amends by recommending the Book to him, where he may find thoſe things ſaid at large, and with very great accurateneſs, which either cannot ſo well be contracted, or I cannot do it here, without exceeding the brevity which I deſign.

1. The *Roman* Church and Court not differing in their Principles. * *H. Dodwell* of the fundamental Principle of Popery.

Firſt, Whereas all Roman Catholics are ſaid to be obliged by their principles to follow the Judgment of the Roman Court; I find little leſs than Demonſtration for this, in a * Book lately publiſhed. Where it is proved that they cannot juſtifie their calling themſelves *Catholics* excluſively to all other Chriſtians, any otherwiſe than by reſolving their Faith into the Infallibility of the Roman Church as united to the Pope; that is, really, into the Infallibility of the Pope as being Head of the Church. So that if he declare, as it is evident he has done, that thoſe things which we call Popery are Articles of Faith, they are bound (if they will do things conſequently to their Principles) either to believe him in thoſe Articles, or elſe to relinquiſh that Communion. This follows by good Reaſoning; though that way of proof is not ſo clear to a Vulgar Capacity, as that which is drawn from Authority, and appears in plain inſtances of Fact. But what greater Inſtance can there be of this kind, than the practice of the whole Roman Church, which has actually followed the Judgment of the Roman Court, and that in things which are properly Popery?

By the whole Roman Church, I mean that which they call ſo themſelves; that is, the governing part of the Clergy of all the Churches of that Communion; that part which acts for all the reſt in Eccleſiaſtical matters, and by whoſe Acts all their Subjects are obliged according to their own Principles. Now taking Popery (as I have (*a*) defined it) to be the owning of the Pope's pretended Authority; whether in Spirituals, over the Univerſal Church, or in Temporals, over all Princes and States; it hath been proved that this Roman Church owns this Doctrine in both the branches of it.

[a] Pag. 6.

Firſt, in *Spirituals*, there can be no queſtion of this. For none can be of the Governing Clergy without taking an *Oath*, in which they own the Pope's Authority with a witneſs. For they ſwear *Fealty* to him, and that in thoſe Terms which import as well a Temporal as a Spiritual ſubjection. No doubt that was *Hildebrand*'s ſenſe that made the (*b*) Oath, and it is moſt agreeable to the Principles and Practices of them that Impoſe it. But this I leave to Temporal Princes and States, and eſpecially to Proteſtants, who are chiefly concerned, to conſider it. Let the Oath be for Spirituals only, it is enough to prove the Churches ſubjection to the Pope; becauſe, in that ſenſe at leaſt, it is taken by all the Governing Clergy. And for the reſt, there is a (*c*) *Form of Profeſſion*, by which they are ſworn to him every one in his Perſon, for fear they ſhould not think themſelves obliged by the Oaths of their Superiors.

[b] V. *Labbe*'s Edition of the Councils *tom.* X. p. 23. A. and p. 379. E. compared with the Oath in the *Pontifical.*

[c] *Ib. tom.* XIV. *Col.* 944. C. & *v. ſup.* p. 10.

If

If among them that are the Guides of Conſcience to others, there be any that makes no Conſcience of an Oath; yet ſuch a one will go which way his Intereſt leads him. And the Pope has them all ſecured to him by Intereſt likewiſe. Not to ſpeak of thoſe ways that his Intereſts are theirs, nor of other ways that he has to oblige them; it is enough that he is ſo far Patron of the whole Church, that none can have a Biſhoprick, or any other eminent Dignity, but he muſt either take it of the Pope's gift, or at leaſt he muſt come to him for Confirmation.

Having two ſuch ſure holds, on the Bodies, and on the Souls, of his Clergy; the Pope is not only in preſent poſſeſſion of a ſpiritual Monarchy over the whole Roman Church, but he is (as much as it is poſſible for him to be) aſſured that none ſhall ever be able to take it out of his hands. Unleſs the Princes of his Communion ſhould come to find their Intereſt in a Reformation, which is rather to be wiſht for than to be expected in our Age; otherwiſe, there is nothing that can diſpoſſeſs him, but a general Council. And that indeed he has ſome cauſe to apprehend upon the experience of former times. It is remembred by others too often for the Pope to forget it, how ſuch a Council, (*d*) when time was, humbled two or three of his Predeceſſors. But then they that were for the Liberty of the Church, had not only the Diffuſive Church on their ſide, but they had a good party among the Cardinals themſelves. Eſpecially they had the Papacy at an Advantage, being to Judge whoſe it was, among them that pretended

(*d*) V. *Supra* p. 88.

to it. They had also the times very favourable to to them, in other Circumstances, which I shall not mention, because they are not like to come again. And yet then, what ground they got from Popes of disputable Titles, they lost afterward to those whose Titles were certain. They left free Declarations and Laws for future times, which might do good, if there were men to put Life in them. But withal they left a certain experiment, to shew us, that that good cannot be done by men who are so engaged to the Papacy.

Interest of it self were enough to give the Pope a Majority of Bishops in any Council where Conscience did not bear too much sway. It was observed by one (*e*) that writ for the Authority of those Councils; that they could never keep up their side, for this reason, because the Pope had the disposing of all the Livings. But how much greater must his Party be, when all the Bishops are bound in Conscience likewise, as far as an Oath can oblige them, to support the Popes spiritual Monarchy? It is hard for men to think that such an Oath does not bind them, as well when they are together, as severally. We see the Pope so well understood this, that when (*f*) it was proposed during the Council of *Trent*, that, to make it a Free Council, he should *dispense with the Oaths* of all the Bishops that sate there; his Legates declared that they would *rather die* than consent to it. I suppose they would not have been so much concerned for that which they had not found to be of very great use in their business. And we see the effect of it. For all the Bishops there present, though

[e] *John Major.*

[f] *Anno* 1552. *Hist. Conc. Trid.* l. 4. and *Pallavic. hist.* XII. 15. 12. & 15.

though it was againſt many of their wills, yet ſuffered the Council to be prorogued, and tranſlated, and rid about how and when the Pope pleaſed, till he had done with them, that is, till they had (g) made it unneceſſary for him ever to have another Council. (g) V. *ſupra* p. 10

But as ſafe as he has made himſelf, in caſe there ſhould be a General Council; it cannot be denied, that it is ſafer for him to have none. And therefore preſuming there ſhall be none for the future, as we may judge by the experience of the laſt hundred years; we come now to conſider what his power is in the Intervals of Councils.

During theſe, it is acknowledged by the whole Roman Church, and that as well by the Laity as the Clergy, that the Pope has the ſupreme Authority over all Chriſtians. Which being another kind of Supremacy than we are uſed to, we are to learn what it is from them that live under it. What they ſay and write of it, is not the ſenſe of the Church, as that is which they ſwear in thoſe Forms before-mentioned. And yet their Oaths being in general terms, we cannot ſo throughly know it from them, as from particular Inſtances of the Exerciſe of it. I ſuppoſe they may be ſaid to give him that Power, which he exerciſes every where without let or contradiction. And to name only ſuch Inſtances, there are two which more particularly concern us, and which make him no leſs than ſome call him, that is, the Virtual Church.

Firſt, he takes upon himſelf, and they allow him, to be the only ſupreme Judge of Fact in Eccleſiaſtical

Eccleſiaſtical matters. So that whomſoever he has judged to be Heretics, (of what rank ſoever they are, Kings not excepted,) they are ſubject to all Canonical Puniſhments, and are avoided as if they were ſuch indeed as he judges them. And as he does not trouble himſelf to call a Council, and to take their ſenſe of the matter before he judges; ſo neither, if he judge amiſs, are the injured Parties relievable by Appeal to any other Judge whatſoever. If any queſtion this, they do ill to call us Heretics; who were never condemned by any Council, at leaſt, not by any that pretended to repreſent the Univerſal Church. It was indeed moved at the Council of *Trent*, that they ſhould have declared againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, and it is ſaid (*h*) that they forbore to do it for politic reaſons. But when the Pope (*i*) ſaw his time to declare, it did as well: for, though by the ſame Bull he deprived her of her Kingdom, all her Subjects of that Church broke Communion with her, even they that diſobeyed the Sentence of Deprivation. Since her time it does not appear that we are under any Sentence, but the Popes yearly Curſe on Maundy Thurſday; and yet that is enough to continue the breach of Communion. Nay, when *Henry* VIII. was condemned by the Pope only, and judged a Heretic for no other cauſe but diſobedience to him; though he had a juſt and lawful Appeal then depending, yet then the Popes Sentence was obeyed, and he was treated as a Heretic by all thoſe of the Roman Communion. If this be not owning the Pope to have an Abſolute Authority, yet at leaſt it is no ſmall

(*h*) *Pallavic. hiſt. Trent.* XXI. 7. 5

(*i*) *Sand. de Schiſm. Contin.* p. 182.

ſmall Priviledge, that they allow him, to let in and ſhut out of their Church whom he pleaſes.

But he claims a higher Priviledge than this; that is, to be judge alſo of Doctrines, to define what ſhall be Faith or Hereſie. This he actually does. And the Church ſo far abets him in it, that if private perſons ſeem to queſtion his Judgment, (as ſome did when he condemned the *Janſeniſts* Propoſitions,) they are puniſht for it as Rebels to the Church. Now being in poſſeſſion of this power to judge of Doctrines, what ſecurity can they have that he will not employ it to advance his own Secular Intereſts under the ſpecious pretence of Chriſtian Faith? If he pleaſe to make it of Faith that all men muſt obey him, even in Temporal things; this is done already in a (*k*) Decretal Epiſtle if there be any Coherence between the two ends of it. If he ſhould think fit to call it the (*l*) *Henrician* Hereſie, for any one to hold that Kings may be obeyed notwithſtanding his Cenſures: If he call it the Hereſie of the (*m*) *Politici* for any one to deny the exemption of the Clergy from Secular Courts; or the Hereſie of (*n*) *Simon Magus*, to hold that Lay men may lawfully preſent to Church Livings: there is nothing new in all this, and therefore he may colourably do it. Nay, we have reaſon to believe he will do it, whenſoever he thinks he may do it ſafely. And that will be, when he is no more in awe of the French Monarchy, than he was of the Engliſh when he cenſured the Iriſh Remonſtrance. It may concern more than Proteſtants to conſider this. For no man knows how ſoon the Pope may be

k *unam ſanctam.* tit. *de Major. & Obed.*

l *Concil. Edit. Labb.* tom. X. p. 405. A. &c.

m *Baron.* Anno 1046. n. 4.

n *Baron.* Anno 1111. n. 29, & n. 42.

be concerned either to have him condemned for a Heretic, or to make ſomething that he holds go for Hereſie. And either of theſe things being done, there is no doubt but that the Popes Act muſt be owned by the Roman Church, in conſequence to to their now mentioned Principles. For all this is no other than the exerciſe of that power which they give him in ſpiritual things.

Whether they allow him to have the like power in Temporals, is the Queſtion which we are next to conſider. And that they do allow it him, will appear by all the means that we have to know the ſenſe of that Church. Firſt, their Church Virtual, that is, the Pope himſelf, has (*o*) declared it again and again; and that with all the Solemnities required by themſelves to his decreeing *ex Cathedra*. There never was any Pope that diſowned it, nor any that owned that Notion of the Virtual Church. Their Church Repreſentative has declared it in divers Councils, of which one or other is owned to be General by all them of the Roman Communion. Whereas many require the the Popes Confirmation of Councils to make them General, there is no doubt but ſuch (*p*) Councils, ſo confirmed, have declared it. For thoſe that do not hold any neceſſity of the Popes Confirmation, thoſe very (*q*) Councils, which they abet in not holding it neceſſary, have not only declared this, but they have taken it for a foundation, which in reaſon ſhould be much more than a Definition. They ſuppoſed it as a thing

* From *Hildebrand* downward.

P H. D. Conſiderations § XXX. of third *Lateran*. § XXXI. of the fourth. § XXXVI. of the Council of *Lions*.

¶ *Ibid.* § XXXVII. of the Council of *Conſtance*. & v. *Concil.* tom. 12. p. 276. D.

thing out of Controverſie, and made ſundry Acts in purſuance of it. Their Catholic Church Diffuſive has own'd it, by receiving and approving of ſome Councils of both ſorts; ſo as that whoſoever has rejected the Councils of one ſort, has received thoſe of the other. They own it likewiſe in ſuch Practices, as muſt be Catholic according to their Principles. If any practice be Catholic, what can be more properly ſo, than that which is the *firſt Commandment* of their *Church?* Namely, to keep her Feſtivals, to hear Maſs, to joyn in Offices of the Church? This they do in the Memory, and with ſolemn Invocation of them as glorified Saints; who not only (while they lived) were abettors of this Doctrine, but who were Sainted for this reaſon, becauſe they Abetted it. Such were (*r*) *Anſelm*, and (*ſ*) *Becket*; of whom I need ſay no more than ſhew the Reader where he may find a very full Demonſtration of this. But among the many more that I might add of this ſort, I ſhall name only two that deſerve more than ordinary notice. Namely, *Hildebrand*, the firſt Author of this Doctrine; and *Pius Quintus*, who was the firſt that practiſed it on Queen *Elizabeth* of bleſſed memory. This laſt mentioned Pope being newly canonized, I ſuppoſe, to let us know here in *England* what we are to expect when time ſerves. I do not ſee how they who ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed on in this manner, and who fulfil the deſign of the Impoſers, in owning ſuch men for Saints, can rationally avoid the owning of their Principles. And if the doing theſe things obliges any to own theſe Principles,

r *H.D.* Conſiderations, § XXVIII.
ſ *Ib.* § IX. &c.

it has the ſame force throughout their whole Diffuſive Church.

It is not ſo eaſie to anſwer the force of theſe Arguments as it is to produce Inſtances on the contrary; of them that have written againſt this Doctrine; eſpecially in *France*, where it is ſaid to be diſowned by a National Church. But their Writings, and her Declarations, will ſtand us in no ſtead upon their Principles, who expreſly except the Caſe of Hereſie; as Cardinal *Perron* ſays they all did, and inſtances in the moſt eminent of them who defended the rights of Princes againſt Popes before the Reformation. For I think it will not be doubted that all the Writers of that Communion, (even thoſe of the *Gallican* Church not excepted) look upon us as Heretics.

But beſides the *French Church* has been ſo far from diſowning this Doctrine, that they have Publicly declared for it, and that no longer ſince than in our Fathers days. It cannot yet be forgotten how the body of their Clergy, as repreſenting the *Gallican* Church, by the mouth of their Speaker Cardinal *Perron* declared themſelves in that famous Harangue, which was printed there with Royal priviledge, and ſent over hither to King* *James*, that he might not be ignorant of their ſenſe in this matter. And they declared it not only to be the preſent ſenſe of their Church, but the ſame that it had conſtantly been, from the firſt opening of her Divinity Schools till *Calvins* time. They ſhew too much deſire to have the French Church on their ſide, that confront theſe great Teſtimonies, with Acts of State, or Declarations of Univerſities, or with Writings of Private

* King *James* thought himſelf concerned to write his *Defence of the right of Kings*, in anſwer to it. *v.* his Works p. 383.

Private men: When they cannot but know, that, according to their Principles, neither Private men, nor Parliaments, nor Universities, can pretend to be the *Gallican* Church in any case, where they differ from the Ecclesiastics.

But whereas Cardinal *Perron* there says, that all they who writ for the Rights of Princes against the Pope in those times before the Reformation, did nevertheless hold that the Pope might depose any Prince that should be guilty of Heresie: Though I do not engage to make good his Assertion in the utmost extent of it, because it is hard to know the mind of every Writer in that Controversie; yet I think it is not hard to shew as many Kings who have declared their Judgment on his side, as there can be produced of those Writers to the contrary. And it is no small proof of the Authority of any Doctrine, when it is acknowledged by them, who would have been most obliged by their Interest to have denied it, if their Consciences would have given them leave. For examples of this, we cannot go higher than to the Emperour *Henry* IV. whose very troublesom times gave occasion to *Hildebrand* to bring this Doctrine first into the world. And it is very observable, that in the Infancy of it, he that was so unfortunate to be made the first Instance of the cursed effects of this Doctrine; though he denied the Popes power over him in all other respects, yet he (*t*) owned it in this of Heresie, which is worth all the rest put together. Perhaps he thought it did not concern him, at

(*t*) *Brunonis* Hist. *belli Sax.* p. 123. Lin. 18. in *Freheri Germ.* edit. *Francof.* 1600. Councils of *Labbe's* Edition, Tom. XI. part. 1. Col. 727. D. & 629. E.

first, so much as he found it did afterwards. For having granted that the Pope might depose him in case of Heresie, it was enough; Then the Pope knew what he had to do. It was only to make a new Heresie of something which he would not or could not deny; and then how easie was it to take away his Crown as being forfeited by his own Confession? Another example of this we have in the Emperour *Frederic* II. Who being in no very good terms with the Pope, thought to get into favour by shewing his zeal against Heresie. And he shewed it sufficiently, by giving the force of a Temporal (*u*) Law to that Canon of their General Council of *Lateran*; by which every *Heretic* is made to *forfeit* his Estate, as well they *that have no chief Lord over them*, as others of Inferiour rank and condition. In Consequence of this, when the Pope saw occasion to take away his Crown, and wanted only some good colour for it; among other crimes with which he charged him, this was one, that he was guilty of *Heresie:* which *appeared*, as the Pope was pleased to say, *by no doubtful and light, but by evident Arguments; for that it was manifest enough that he had run into many Perjuries:* These are the very words of the (*x*) Sentence. By which also it sufficiently appears, that not only Error in Doctrine, but even Vice or Misgovernment may suffice to make a Heretic, when a Prince's being so will forfeit his Crown to the Pope. But as Humane Nature is, and in a Fortune so liable to temptation, how hard a thing it is for any Prince to escape this charge? while the Pope is allowed to be Judge, as well who is guilty of the Fact, as what

u *Bzov.* An. 1221. n. 2. & 1225. n. 10.

x Councils of *Labbe*'s Edition, Tom. XI. part. 1. Col. 642. A.

what Fact ſhall amount to a Hereſie. For he may as groundleſly judge one guilty of Perjury, as he did in that Inſtance judge that guilt to be Hereſie: And yet both theſe Judgments ſo inſeparably belong to the ſame Juriſdiction, that they who grant him either of them, ought in reaſon to grant him both; as we have ſhewn they do, according to the Principles of the Roman Church.

And whereas it is alleaged, that ſome National Councils have declared for the Independent right of Kings; though none ever did ſo, but they are (y) branded for it, at leaſt, in all the later Editions of the Councils; yet of theſe it is obſervable, that they never ſuppoſed the Caſe of Hereſie, in which there is no Reaſon to doubt that they went with the ſtream of the Roman Church. It is more obſervable that, bating that Caſe, the rights of Princes againſt the Pope were ſcarce ever maintained by any Council of any Nation or Province but thoſe who were under the Aw of Princes. And even of them, very many have recanted, as ſoon as they found themſelves at liberty to do it; and that Conſcientiouſly, as we have reaſon to believe. But on the other ſide, the moſt Conſcientious Perſons of that Communion have ſtood their ground in the moſt diſadvantagious Circumſtances. They have ſtuck to it, and maintained it, and never recanted their Doctrine; howſoever they might have ſome remorſe at ſome of thoſe horrid Practices into which they were led by it.

(y) Being called *Conciliabula.*

Now by the Principles of that Communion, whatſoever has been the ſenſe of their Church,

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can never ceaſe to be ſo on further trial, but muſt be the Churches Doctrine for ever. They who defend Infallibility of Judgment cannot avoid this. Nor they who hold Infallibility of Tradition: Since they teach, that, whatſoever has once prevailed, and that Univerſally over all Churches, and ſpecially over all Conſcientious Perſons; could never prevail ſo, unleſs it had been delivered from the beginning. But of this Doctrine it has been proved, that it was in the Church before thoſe Councils above mentioned, and was either declared or ſuppoſed by thoſe General Councils, therefore it muſt have been from Catholic Tradition. And therefore, according to their Principles, it ought not to be called to a review; much leſs be disbelieved, or diſputed, by any in this preſent Age, whatſoever advantage it may have, above thoſe former Ages, in point of Learning and Monuments, for the diſcerning of Catholic Tradition.

Anſwer. What has been ſaid is ſufficient to make it appear, that all they of the Roman Church, by the Principles of their Communion, are obliged to maintain theſe Doctrines of Popery. Whence it will follow, that as long as they are true to thoſe Principles, we cannot be ſecure that they will not practiſe thoſe Doctrines. Therefore all the reaſon we can have to believe that they will do us no hurt, if they are truly conſcientious perſons, is only this; that we may hope they do not yet know their Churches ſenſe in this matter. At preſent they do not ſee the repugnancy between their

their Duty to Princes, and the Principles of their Communion. But this will only ſecure us ſo long as they do not ſee it; and that may be a very little while. For as the proofs of this Inconſiſtency are great, and notorious; ſo they are ready to be objected to them by their Adverſaries in their own Communion. And therefore we can have little ſecurity of them, if we can have none any longer than while we may ſuppoſe them likely to continue in this Ignorance. So that the only ſolid and laſting reaſon that we have, or can have to hope well of the Loyalty of any ſuch Conſciencious Perſons among them, muſt be the aſſurance that we have of their firmer adherence to their Duty to King and Country than to the Principles of their Communion.

Of theſe Perſons we may be ſecured, whileſt they are ignorant of that Inconſiſtence, becauſe, if they are truly ſuch as we take them to be, they cannot but think themſelves bound in Conſcience to deal fairly and uprightly with us. And when the Papalins, who will ſtill be practiſing upon them, ſhall have brought them to diſcern that Inconſiſtency; the effect of it may be better than they intend. For we have reaſon to hope that ſuch Perſons will be ſo far from quitting their Duty for their Communion, that they may be rather induced to leave their Communion; when they ſhall be convinced that it is not poſſible to maintain it without complying with thoſe Doctrines which they have in ſo great deteſtation. And theſe hopes of the good effect of this Countenance to them

above

above others, and of the consequent jealousie of those others of their own Communion, may be a farther encouragement to zealous Protestants, to shew them this countenance; Not only in regard of the security which such as these may give to the State, but also in regard of the hopes, that, in process of these disputes among themselves, they may at last by the wisdom of God be won over to the Protestant Communion.

And concerning these Persons for whom the favour of the Laws is desired, we have reason to believe that many of them do really adhere more firmly to the sense of their duty to their Country, than to that of continuing in the Roman Communion. Many of them are such as have given good proof of it already, of which Instances might be produced, if it were necessary. But to wave all Historical inquiries in this place; If the State desire satisfaction herein, it may be had by the form which shall be tendred to them. By which they may profess that they do in Conscience believe themselves more obliged to pay their duty to their Prince and Country, than to stand to the Authoritative Decision of any Judge whatsoever that is owned in the Church of that Communion.

The second Objection. The second thing objected against that discrimination here proposed, is this, which were considerable enough of it self, but much more being added to the other. It is said, that we can have no assurance of any engagement they make to us, they have so many ways to elude the force of it; what by Equivocation, and Mental Reservation, what

what by Popes Diſpenſations, by their Doctrine of Probability, and the reſt. There are ſo many of them, that, conſidered one after another, they look like a contrivance to deſtroy all Faith among men. For when we think our ſelves aſſured by their Promiſe, and eſpecially, when confirmed with an Oath; yet, by Equivocation, that Oath, in their ſenſe, ſhall ſignifie quite otherwiſe than was meant by them that made or impoſed it. If they do not Equivocate, yet they may have ſome mental Reſervation; ſaying inwardly *not*, or ſomething elſe that quite alters the meaning of what is ſpoken. And if they Swear without either of theſe tricks; yet they may believe the Pope can diſpenſe with that Oath, or he can abſolve them when they have taken it. And though the Pope ſhould not do this, yet their Church * hath given them the Preſident of breaking Faith with known Heretics. And if they make Conſcience of that; yet it may be ſome Doctors opinion, that there is ſomething unlawful in this Oath, which though they did not diſcover before, and therefore took it, yet having diſcovered this after, they may think themſelves not obliged by it. And though they ſhould not be of this Doctors opinion, yet that extrinſic probability of this Doctors Authority may be enough to ſway them againſt their own convictions to the contrary. The Probability that there is of their holding all theſe opinions, as having been held by Doctors of Reputation among them, and none of them ever cenſured for it by the Church, (though ſhe hath taken all poſſible care to cenſure all ſuch opinions as may

* Council of *Conſtance* Seſs. 19. in *Labbe's* Edition of Councils, *Tom.* XII. *Col.* 196. *E.* & 1. *o. A.*

be any way contrary either to her Judgment or Intereſt) this preſumption is ſufficient to perſuade private perſons, that their Church, though perhaps ſhe may not believe them true, yet believeth them not hurtful or dangerous to her Children. And if a Doctrine hath no danger in it, though it prove to be falſe, yet the ſecurity of it is inducement enough for men to practiſe it. Theſe Principles will the rather hold, becauſe according to their other Principles, they are taught to relie on the Judgment of their Church in matters of belief even where they cannot do it without renouncing their own Judgment.

And in this Objection, it is very conſiderable, that it is not ſo eaſie as it was in the former, to diſtinguiſh who they are that do indeed hold theſe dangerous Principles. Only we have reaſon to ſuſpect all them that keep to that Communion upon Principles of Conſcience. For they muſt think themſelves bound in Conſcience to hold theſe Principles to be practicable, becauſe they are ſo, according to the Principles of their Communion. And they who are once ſuſpected upon prudent grounds, can neither clear themſelves, nor ſatisfie us, by any form of profeſſion they can make. Becauſe we muſt ſtill ſuſpect, that ſuch perſons do prevaricate, even in thoſe forms by which they ſeem to renounce Prevarication. This Objection hath been made, and it is not without viſible cauſe.

Anſwer. Now in anſwer to this, it cannot be denied but that many of them have maintained ſuch Principles of this kind as would deſtroy all poſſible truſt

truſt in dealing with them. And if they had ſtood to theſe Principles in their Actions, this would have given us cauſe to ſuſpect all the reſt of their Communion, while they continue in it.

But whatſoever they ſay in their diſputes, we have reaſon to judge of their belief, by what they ſhew of it when they come to the trial of Action. And thus, even the Papalins themſelves have not ventured to act upon theſe Principles, even where they could have nothing to hinder them from it, but convictions of Conſcience. They who have died rather than they would take that Oath, which according to theſe Principles they might have taken, and prevaricated in it, have plainly ſhewn, that even they durſt not truſt their own ſubtilties when they came to be practiſed. Nay, the Pope himſelf, who hath forbidden them to take theſe Oaths, and hath animated them to be Martyrs rather than take them, would not have expoſed his deareſt friends to ſuch extreme hazards, if in earneſt he himſelf could have approved the practiſing of theſe Principles.

The utmoſt therefore that we may fear in dealing with them ſeems only this; that, whilſt they renounce one form of Prevarication, they may make uſe of another. If they renounce Equivocation; they may at the ſame time, believe themſelves obliged not to Equivocate, and yet not renounce the belief of the Popes Authority to diſpenſe with their Oath, if that be not expreſly contained in the Form.

But we have no Reaſon to believe, that men of ſuch Politics as the Court of *Rome* are known to

be, can poſſibly, when they come to practiſe, own ſuch Principles, as are like to prove ſo prejudicial to their own Intereſt. Or if they ſhould be overſeen ſo far as to do this, yet the miſchief that would follow upon it being likely to prove more dangerous to themſelves than to us, we have no reaſon to fear running the hazard of it. For if there are any that believe that they may prevaricate in the very ſame form of prevarication which they renounce; How is it poſſible that the Roman Court it ſelf can be aſſured of ſuch perſons? That Court it ſelf hath found by experience, that it hath had many real enemies, that ſtill pretended to live in its Communion. How can they be aſſured but that many of theſe, who pretend to be their Servants and Subjects, may prove to be their dangerous Enemies? If in earneſt they may prevaricate, even *coram Judice*, in a thing not belonging to his Juriſdiction; how can the Court ſecure themſelves, that perſons perſuaded of the injuſtice of the Popes Claim to a power in temporal things upon any pretence whatſoever; may not prevaricate with him, ſince they believe that theſe matters belong not to his Juriſdiction? How can they ſecure themſelves, but that multitudes of ſuch perſons, may, therefore, ſtill keep to their Communion; purpoſely to form Intrigues againſt them, which they could not do, if they were out of it? It is certain that not only the Papalins have owned theſe Doctrines, but even thoſe who have been the greateſt Adverſaries of the Papacy among themſelves. Particularly, the Council of *Conſtance* is that which gave Authority to the Doctrine

Doctrine of breaking Faith with known Heretics. And according to the definition of that same Council, the (a) Pope himself, and all they who challenge for him the Supremacy over Councils, are Heretics for doing so. And therefore, why may they not break Faith with him as well as with any other Heretic? This is a just reason for him to suspect, and they who are once suspected can give him no assurance by these Principles.

(a) Council of *Basil* in *Labbe's* Councils, *Tom.* XII. p. 620. *D.* & 621. *A.* & 766. *B.* & 767. *B.*

Since therefore the belief of this liberty of using Reflexive Prevarication, is neither for the Interest, nor agreeable to the practice of the Roman Court it self; and since the danger that may follow in the trust of it must be more theirs than ours, for it destroys the Faith of all whom they have to employ either to defend themselves or to prejudice us; we have reason to believe that Forms, whereby they renounce prevarication, may oblige them to bar themselves the use of those Prevarications which they do therein expresly renounce. So that for giving us compleat security, nothing more can be desired but that the Forms to be tendred to them may take in all the cases wherein any celebrated Doctors among them do allow them this liberty of prevaricating. And therefore the drawing up of this Test would be more properly a work of Divines than of Statesmen; and more particularly, of such Divines as have been most conversant in the Casuists of the Roman Church.

If this will not suffice, how is it possible that even Protestants, who are once suspected of inclining

inclining to Popery, can ever purge themſelves of this Imputation? We have had too many Inſtances of unjuſt Accuſations of this kind. It hath been generally the Fate of them who have been moſt zealous for the Church of *England*, or for any thing of Order and Diſcipline in it, to have been thus repreſented to the people by men who have deſired to make them odious. And the miſchief which muſt follow upon this diſtruſt among our ſelves, even of thoſe who are our moſt zealous Patriots, and therefore moſt eminently capable of doing ſervice, is a miſchief much greater than we can fear from any thing that can follow on ſuch a truſt of the Romaniſts as have been here deſcribed. It will make us uncapable of driving on any great deſign, either for our own defence, or to defeat their machinations againſt us. And therefore it muſt be much more miſchievous to us, than any hurt we can ſuffer from thoſe of the Roman Communion, eſpecially from thoſe who deſire, not our *truſt*, but *protection*.

If it be farther ſuſpected, that, when they have taken all the Teſts that can be given them, ſtill their minds may alter after all this; and that ſo long as their Prieſts are near them, and have their ear, we have too juſt reaſon to ſuſpect that they may actually change. It will be eaſie to reply, that a change may be poſſible, when all diligence hath been uſed to the contrary. But we have no reaſon to believe it probable, of them who, by a Teſt that hath been before propounded, ſhall profeſs themſelves more obliged to their Duty to King and Country than to any Judgment or Intereſt of their

their Church to the contrary. For whoſoever they are that are ready to oppoſe the Judgment of their Church it ſelf, if ſhe ſhould declare any thing contrary to their duty; it cannot in reaſon be ſuppoſed, that they ſhould be ſo far influenced by a Prieſt, as to do that for his ſake, which they would not do in obedience to the Church. But if yet it be farther ſuſpected, that their Prieſts may be enabled to work ſuch a change in their Penitents by their Intimacy and Aſſiduity with them, and by that Reverence that is uſually born to their Perſons, which, being alway preſent with them, may perhaps prevail more than the dumb Definitions of the Church. Yet this danger the State may very eaſily remedy, and will do it by the making of a juſt and prudent diſcrimination. For that being to be made by ſuch a Teſt as the State ſhall require, no other Prieſts will be allowed, but only ſuch as have taken it. And the Teſt being made with ſuch a Clauſe as hath been propoſed, the Prieſts that take it will be upon the ſame terms with their Laity; and will be equally obliged in behalf of the State, to oppoſe any pretence that can be brought by any perſon or power whatſoever to draw them from their Allegiance.

And if there be any fear of Practices againſt the State by them that, having taken the Teſt, have been ſecretly changed by ſome means againſt which no proviſion is made; the danger of this alſo may be prevented, as far as any thing may be done by Obligations of Conſcience. Not to ſay that their Intereſt will oblige them likewiſe in great meaſure.

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It may be done by a frequent Repetition of this Teſt, which may diſcover any change in ſome ſhort time after it is made; and ſo may give an early ſtop to any practices which might follow upon it. The Prieſts alſo may be obliged by their Oath to declare the Independent Right of Kings in their Sermons, as expreſly, and as oft, as the State ſhall preſcribe. And it may be ſo ordained that they ſhall continue in their charge no longer than while they can bring ſufficient Teſtimony that they have done it. Theſe expedients will ſuffice in all likelihood to prevent the defection of them who have given ſecurity to the State, or at leaſt will ſecure it in time from receiving any dangerous hurt by their defection.

CONCLUSION.

TO conclude all with a brief Summary of what I conceive adviſable in this whole affair. I think it is not ſo proper to make the diſtinction between Regulars and Seculars. Becauſe many Seculars are more addicted to theſe Principles than many of the Regulars; and ſome of the Regulars have declared againſt theſe Principles, and ſuffered for it more than any Seculars in our age. Beſides that it may ſeem very partial to prejudge men by their Ranks, when they may diſtinguiſh themſelves ſufficiently otherwiſe. Yet withal, whereas there are divers of thoſe Regular Orders, that were never received in *England*, even by the Romaniſts themſelves; and who have here intruded themſelves as well againſt their own

own (*c*) Canons as againſt the known Laws of the Land; it is but reaſonable that we ſhould take that Advantage againſt them, which not only our Laws, but even their own Canons will allow. Eſpecially where we have Reaſon in other regards to ſuſpect them above others of being active and induſtrious in driving on dangerous deſigns. And this Advantage may be taken againſt (*d*) three eminent Orders among them; which have been founded ſince the Reformation, and were never Canonically received here in *England*, and yet are as Active as any other in deſigns for the advancing of Popery.

For the reſt who are not thought fit to be totally excluded, the moſt equal way for them, and as ſecure a way for us, to diſtinguiſh them; is to do it by ſuch a Teſt as has been more than once before mentioned. That this is a ſafe way may appear from what hath been already ſhewn; that even the high Papalins themſelves cannot prevaricate in renouncing Prevarication, and therefore may be capable of giving aſſurance to the State by ſubmiſſion to Teſts, if they are known to be conſciencious otherwiſe. But antecedently to any Teſt, for ſome of them, it would be requiſite, that they ſhould firſt renounce their former Oaths and Obligations; or explain them ſo as to ſecure us that they will not be induced by them to any dangerous practice againſt the State. Thoſe of them, as their Biſhops and others, who have taken Oaths to the Pope, as they are preſcribed by their Pontifical; either to explain them, if they can poſſibly do it, ſo that we may be ſatisfied of their Innocency; or to retract them, where they will not admit of ſuch an Explication. And here alſo it ought to be conſidered what Oaths are taken by thoſe Proſelytes whom they gain into the Roman Communion.

When this is done, and not till then, they may be capable of being admitted to take the Teſt. Which

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(*c*) No new order of Regulars is to be admitted in any place without leave of the Ordinary, v. *Conc. Trident.* Seſs. 25. *de Regular. Cap.* 3. & *Bullam urb.* VIII. 1628. *Aug.* 28. which begins with *Romanus Pontifex* in the *Bullarium Cherubini* of *Lyons* Edition. Tom. IV. p. 62.

(*d*) Jeſuites, diſcalceat Carmelites, and Cappucins.

ought in reaſon to contain all that which the Law hath already preſcribed, as being that which the wiſdom of our Law-makers have judged fit and ſutable to their condition. It is not reaſonable for them to expect that any of thoſe trials ſhould be waved which have been made even ſince the Reformation; as long as the ſame Reaſon continues which prevailed with our Legiſlators to preſcribe them. But if they were to make a Teſt for themſelves, I do not ſee how they can with any confidence decline thoſe profeſſions which were made by their Anceſtors before the Reformation. They have ſo frequently boaſted of them, and alledge them as Arguments of the Conſiſtence of their Religion with their Loyalty. And therefore it were fit that the Teſt ſhould take in all thoſe Doctrines concerning the Rights of Kings which are contained or ſuppoſed in the Ancient Laws. Eſpecially in thoſe which themſelves have produced for the honour of their Communion; as namely, the Aſſize of *Clarendon*, the Statutes of *Proviſors* and *Premunire*. Theſe they cannot with any confidence refuſe, if they will but pretend to deal ingenuouſly, and to let us ſee that they have been in earneſt in thoſe Elogies which they have given their Predeceſſors for making them. Beſide the forementioned particulars, it were alſo needful for our ſatisfaction, that they would profeſs themſelves ſo far convinced in Conſcience of their Obligation to their Prince and Country, that no Eccleſiaſtical Judge or Judicatory whatſoever ſhall be able to draw them either from the belief, or from the practice of their Duty. This will fully ſecure us of their Loyalty, if they deal ſincerely in it. And for ſatisfying us of their ſincerity, it hath already been adviſed, to renounce all their pretences to Diſſimulation. And great care ſhould be taken that no Doctrine be left out of this Teſt, which would leave them any liberty of this kind, in the Judgment of any celebrated or uncenſured Caſuiſt in their Church. This

This will be not only a ſufficient, but alſo a juſt ground to diſtinguiſh between them. For when a Teſt being thus contrived ſhall be preſcribed by Authority, it will then appear that none are like to ſuffer the ſeverity of the Laws but they who either are truly Criminal, or are juſtly ſuſpected of being ſo, even for their refuſing of ſuch a Teſt. And then that due ſeverity which may be thought neceſſary to preſerve the State from their practiſing againſt it, may be executed on them with leſs colour of exception to the Penalties. They who have extolled the Loyalty of their forefathers, in making thoſe Laws already mentioned, cannot except againſt the Penalties mentioned in thoſe Laws. They cannot pretend that there was any other Cauſe of ſeverity, in them, but their care for the ſecurity of the Public; for they were otherwiſe of their own Communion, and therefore could not be liable to any ſuſpition of that rigour againſt them, of which they may ſuſpect us in regard of our differences of Communion. For other penalties, I ſay no more, but leave them to the wiſdom of the State; who beſt know that due meaſure of ſeverity that is requiſite in our preſent Circumſtances. For as their caſe may in ſome Reaſons vary from the condition of them againſt whom thoſe Laws were made; ſo it is fit that their puniſhments ſhould do ſo too, whether their caſe be more excuſable now or then, that alſo I do not take upon me to determine. For them who will take the Teſt ſo contrived, and that as oft as the State ſhall require; it were fit that ſuch favour be ſhewn to them as may conſiſt with the ſafety of the State. And all the favour which themſelves have deſired, is their exemption from Sanguinary Laws, and protection againſt their Popiſh Adverſaries, and permiſſion to live in their Country, upon the ſame terms as other diſſenters do, who are as Innocent as themſelves will be upon this ſuppoſal.

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As for Places of truſt, they do not pretend to them. Which may be a ſecurity againſt all reaſonable jealouſies. For other Laws which have been made againſt the forein Education of their Children; they will not then have the pretence of any neceſſity for it, when they may have them taught at home, by perſons well affected to the State, and yet otherwiſe of their own Religion. And they will have no excuſe, if they do it without any neceſſity. So that they cannot object againſt any Determination that the State ſhall think fit to make in that particular; whether the Laws now in force ſhall be continued, or changed, and if continued, under whatſoever Conditions and Penalties it ſhould be done.

And if it be thought fit to impoſe on them ſuch ſmall pecuniary Penalties as may only oblige them in Intereſt to endeavour the farther ſatisfaction of their Conſcience; it might be convenient that thoſe ſums were applied to maintain converts to the Church, and to reward them that ſhall inform the State how theſe things are obſerved among them.

This will be likely to keep up the practice of theſe Laws, when they cannot be ſecured from diſcoverers among themſelves. And may alſo be a means by degrees to reduce them to the Communion of the Church in order to the capacitating of them for farther favours.

Thus much was in Prudence neceſſary to be ſaid, to ſhew as well the Practicableneſs, as the Convenience of this Propoſal. The Convenience has appeared in the Diſcourſe it ſelf, and the Practicableneſs in the Anſwer to the Objections. For other more particular Expedients I leave them to the Prudence of the State; whoſe moſt proper Office it is, and who are beſt acquainted with all particular Circumſtances to determine.

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